YORKSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGICAL JOURNAL

VOLUME 59

1987

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THE YORKSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGICAL JOURNAL

A REVIEW
OF HISTORY, ANTIQUITIES AND TOPOGRAPHY IN THE COUNTY
PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE COUNCIL
OF THE
YORKSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY
EDITED BY R. M. BUTLER

VOLUME 59
FOR THE YEAR
1987

ISSN 0084-4276

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PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY BY
ARTHUR WIGLEY & SONS LTD., BRADFORD

The Society wishes it to be understood that responsibility for opinions and material contained in articles, notes and reviews is that of the authors, to whom any resulting correspondence should be addressed.

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A ROMAN SITE AT WOMERSLEY, NORTH YORKSHIRE

By P. C. BUCKLAND, AND M. J. DOLBY

Introduction

The outcrop of the Magnesian Limestone forms a narrow north-south band of light calcareous soils from Nottinghamshire, northwards through Yorkshire, finally reaching the coast in County Durham. The density of Roman and possibly earlier settlement on the limestone has only recently become apparent through the aerial survey work of Derek Riley (1973; 1976; 1977), although the rock, with its strongly developed joint pattern, is perhaps slightly less responsive to this technique than the adjoining Sherwood Sandstone and sandy Drift soils to the east (Riley, 1980). The scatter of surface finds of the Late Pre-Roman Iron Age and Roman period also implies a prosperous agricultural background to the settlements, and coin hoards are surprisingly frequent (cf. Pirie, 1968; Mattingly & Dolby, 1982) in comparison with areas to the east and the heavier claylands of the Coal Measures to the west. Both aerial and palaeoecological evidence combine to suggest a managed landscape cleared of forest by the Roman period (Buckland, 1979; Smith, 1958; Turner, 1962), a picture from which the Magnesian Limestone outcrop would not seem to be excluded. There has, however, been little excavation. Corder (1951) drew attention to the well preserved group of sites in Edlington Wood, south of the river Don, but more recent excavations there remain unpublished (Sumpter, 1973). The three most extensive investigations, the small late Iron Age to Roman enclosure in Scratta Wood, near Worksop (White, 1966), the Iron Age site at Ledston and the Roman villa and its precursors at Dalton Parlours, near Wetherby (Keighley, 1981) have yet to be published in detail. Recently, Sydes and Symonds (1985) have examined part of a small enclosure and field system, associated with two circular huts at Pickburn Leys, north-west of Doncaster, in advance of quarrying. Fieldwork has also shown the existence of similar small enclosures as well preserved and as complex as those in Edlington Wood and it is apparent that settlement on the Magnesian Limestone was at least as dense as in areas to the south.

Womersley

The occupation site at Womersley lies 1km north west of the modern village centre (Fig. 1), about 15m above sea level, on the gentle easterly sloping dipslope of the Upper Magnesian Limestone (N.Gr.Ref. SE524196). The site was first drawn to the attention of staff at Doncaster Museum by Ms. S. Leek during July, 1968, when she brought in for identification two beehive querns and a quantity of Roman pottery, recovered by her father during the clearance of topsoil prior to quarrying. A visit to the site (by MJD & PCB) showed fragments of roughly coursed rubble walling in amongst the much weathered and frost-shattered limestone. Limited excavation revealed a complex of rubble faced structures and a T-shaped 'corn-drying' oven or kiln; it rapidly became apparent, however, that the bulk of the site had lain to the south and had already been destroyed by the quarrying operations. Lack of resources limited the amount of excavation, although a magnetometer survey in the field immediately to the north, since quarried away, failed to locate further features, and it is probable that the majority of

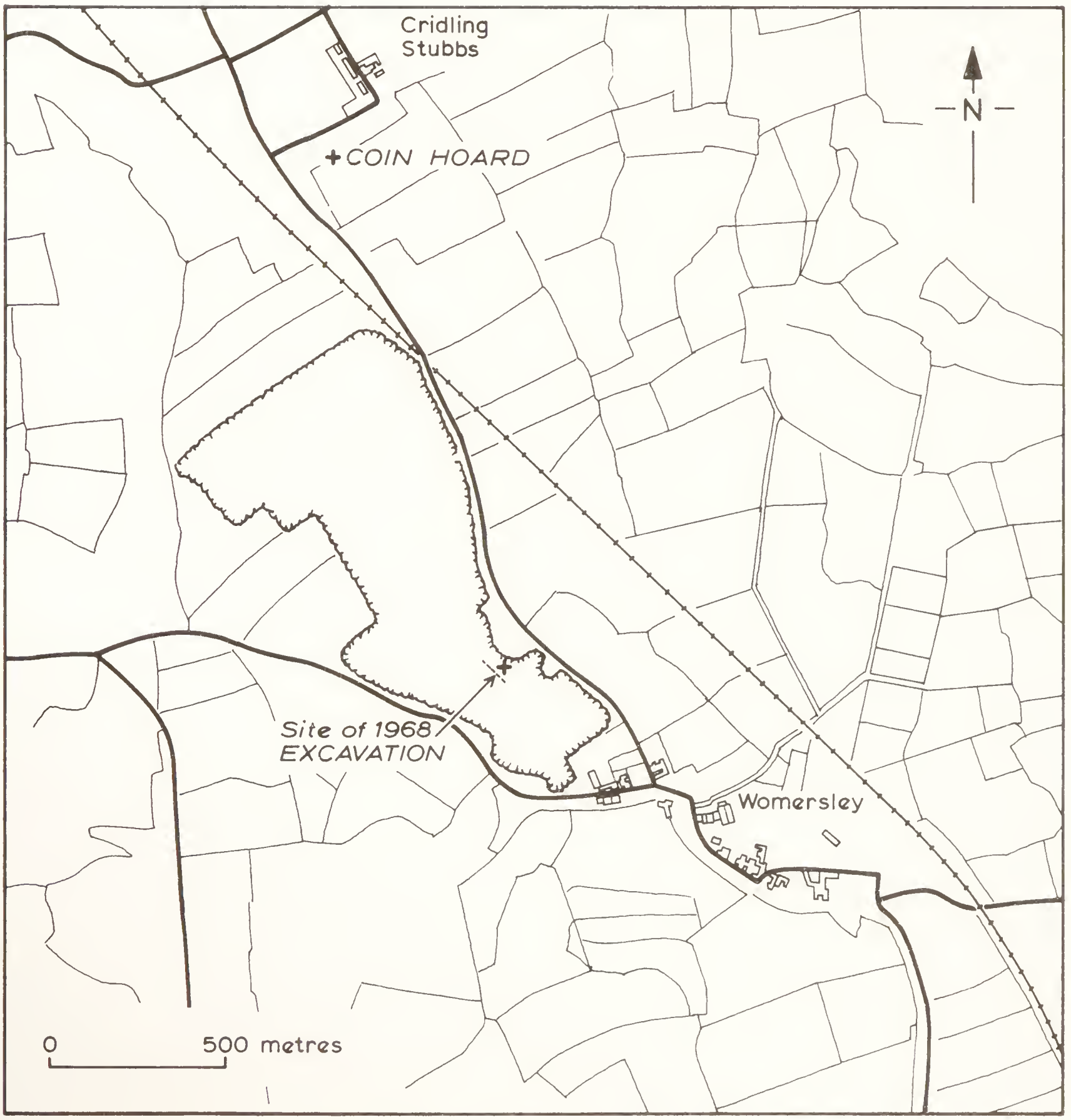

Fig. 1. Womersley Roman site: location map.

what remained was examined. Unfortunately, when the site came to be planned, by J. R. Lidster in August, 1968, the quarry edge had advanced northwards to the extent that the 'corn-drying' kiln could not be fully recovered, although photographs had already been obtained. A plan of the kiln in isolation had been prepared by one of us (MJD); unfortunately there were discrepancies between the plans and the final drawing (fig. 2) reflects a compromise.

The Enclosure Bank

Interpretation of the surviving remains of the site (fig. 2) was complicated both by the mechanical stripping of topsoil and part of the subsoil depth of between 400 and 500m and by a change in the nature of the subsoil. On the eastern part of the site, around the T-shaped oven, archaeological features either lay directly upon, or were cut into the shattered top of the Upper Magnesian Limestone. Further west, a large depression, filled

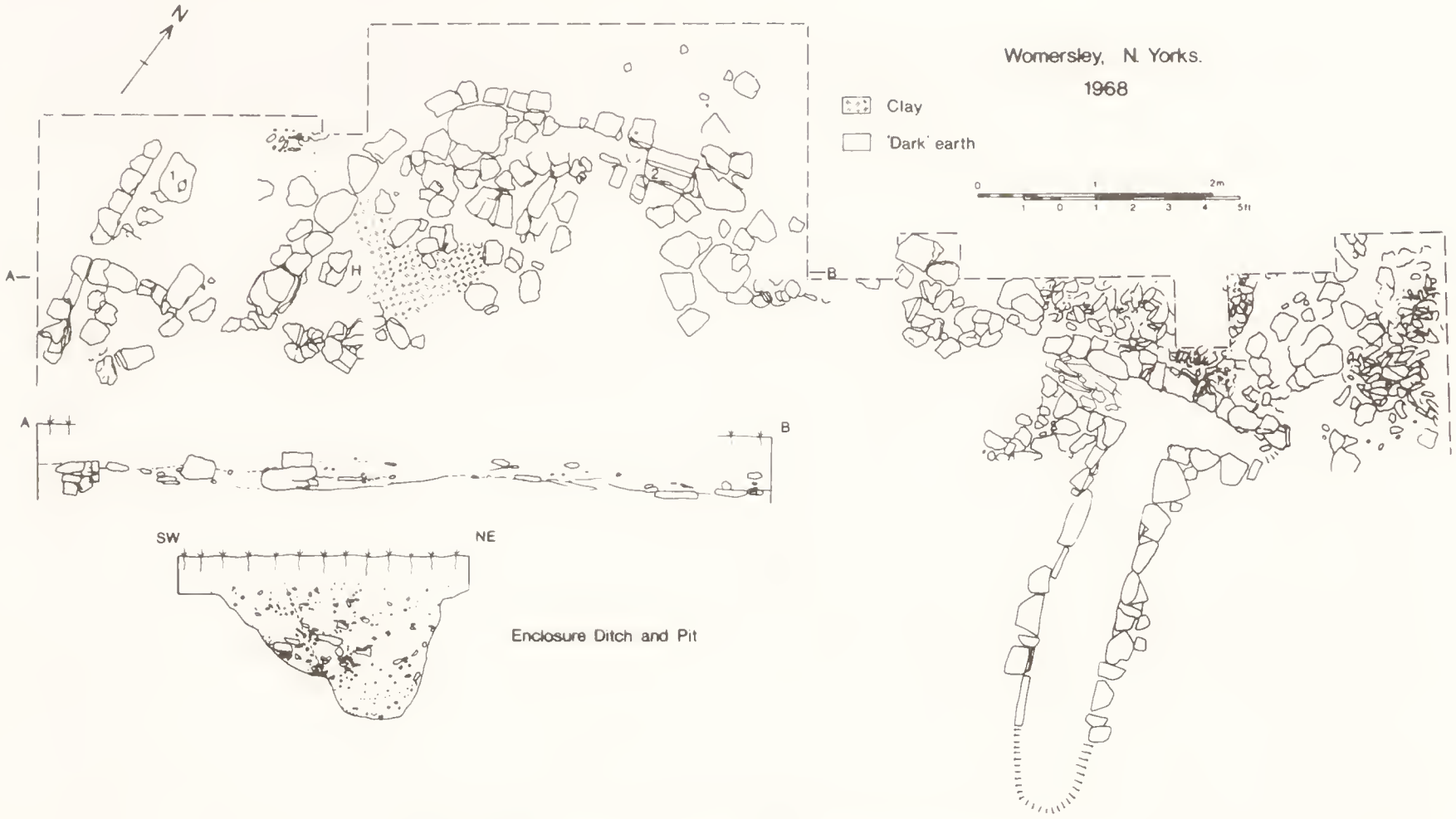

Fig. 2. Womersley: plan and section of ditch and pit.

with moderate brown, presumably loessic silt, intervened and features were less easily defined. As a result, one of us in the interim report (Dolby, 1969) initially interpreted the curved wall of limestone rubble, remaining to a maximum of two courses, as a segment of a circular or sub-circular structure, with a part clay, part flagged floor; an earlier segmental feature, of which only a single course remained, occurred below. The length of walling, however, is continuous from east of the oven to the beginning of the short curve to a southerly alignment, over 8m, and is unlikely to reflect a circular structure. The walls more probably represent the successive phases of the inner kerb of a bank surrounding the site. A further length of walling, consisting of three courses of rough limestone, 1.5m to the west and 2m long, may reflect another phase of this enclosure bank, although there is no direct stratigraphic link. Only the more extensive bank has any indication of width and this can only be regarded as tentative. North of the oven a roughly flagged entrance, 1m wide, cuts through an area of pitched limestone forming the base of the bank. A width of about 1.5m is apparent immediately east of this and a similar width is suggested by the position of the wall at the west end of the site, where the single block with a pivot hole (1), either in situ or reused, may mark a similar outer edge. Although excavation did not extend beyond the putative bank, topsoil clearance and quarry sections failed to reveal any evidence for a surrounding ditch. As well as the pivot stone, another worked block of limestone (2) occurs, offset from the line of the best preserved kerb. 400mm long by 250mm wide, this has an open-ended longitudinal groove, V-shaped and 30mm wide, in its upper surface; its function is uncertain. There is no evidence for any superstructure to the bank and it may have merely been topped with a quickset hedge to deter straying animals. Some structures, however, were built against the kerb. On the western part of the site the area over the silty depression was partly flagged with limestone slabs and partly covered with a clay floor abutting against the wall; the latter could not have existed in an outdoor situation and clearly relates to the remains of a heavily burnt rough limestone and clay hearth, part of which (H) remained on the southern edge of the site. Preservation was insufficient to allow further interpretation, but some form of hut must have existed in this corner of the bank. Despite the evidence for at least three phases of structure, none of these features produced any

datable material. A few abraded sherds of Roman grey ware, products of the South Yorkshire kilns (Buckland et al., 1980), and the poorly preserved plain knob terminal of a bronze penannular brooch were recovered from the topsoil over this part of the site. The two Millstone Grit querns appear to have come from the same area.

The T-shaped oven

Stratigraphically, the latest feature on the site is the T-shaped oven. Although this utilised the inner kerb of the bank for the line of the outer edge of the top of the T, it largely blocked the narrow entrance through the bank. The oven had been cut through the clay-silt subsoil into the underlying limestone to a depth of 0.55mm and had been constructed largely by drystone walling a hole cut into the bedrock, although some joints were luted with clay between the untrimmed limestone rubble. The main flue was orientated north-south, averaging 0.55m in width and 3.08m in overall length. The stoking or firehole of the kiln had been largely scraped away during clearance prior to quarrying but a slight hollow of the same width as the main flue and with a rounded end extended in a southerly direction for 0.6m (fig. 2). The cross flue of the oven survived to a maximum of seven rough courses of limestone and had an overall width of 2.2m, with a flue width of 0.4m, the two arms sloping upwards and being slightly constricted to 0.2m at the ends. Whilst the majority of the structure was of thin coursed limestone rubble, part of the west wall of the main flue was of orthostatic construction, perhaps a result of some rebuilding. It is apparent that the main flue at least had been partly covered with thin slabs as pieces of these were recovered from the flue on first discovery, and these must have come from a position little higher than the surviving top of the oven. Much of the remaining filling of the structure was of an orange-brown loamy earth with occasional small fragments of charcoal. A little more charcoal occurred along the base of the flue, but there was no evidence of intense burning. Although experiment and modern parallel suggest that such structures require to be indoors for successful use, no trace of a surrounding building remained.

The oven produced the only reasonable stratified group from the site. In its filling were a few unidentifiable fragments of poorly preserved animal bone, several small hob nails and a sherd from the reeded rim of a Mancetter/Hartshill mortarium. The latter provides the only dating evidence — the second half of the third or fourth century

Ditch

About 45m west of the excavated site, aligned in an approximately north-south direction, a ditch was noted in the area cleared of topsoil. Nearly 10m of this was excavated, between the hedge line and the quarry edge, and the quarry workmen had noted the feature in the face for at least a further 3m. Over much of the exposed length only 0.3m of the ditch remained, dug into the limestone, but trial trenches during September 1968 showed that it continued for at least a further 15m north of the hedge line. The fill was uniform, of small limestone in a matrix of orange-brown clayey loam.

At a point 2.8m from the hedge line, two pits were found, cut into the ditch filling, the more southerly cutting into the other. Both features were shallow, extending 0.35m and 0.17m respectively below the base of the ditch. In the section close to the hedge line (fig. 2), the larger pit was 1.2m in diameter and 1.1m deep below the topsoil. Neither pit produced any finds but the ditch was more productive, although the few sherds of Roman grey ware are undiagnostic beyond a broad second to fourth century date. In the filling, between 2.4 and 8.5m from the hedge line, were four infant burials, inserted into the top of the ditch. The proximity of some structure is suggested by many broken and burnt pebbles, some animal bone and fragments of roofing slab in a Coal Measure flagstone, brought from outcrop several kilometres to the west. What this material

relates to must have lain further to the south, in the area previously destroyed by quarrying.

Discussion

Although small farmsteads of the Womersley type are common in southern Yorkshire and north Nottinghamshire, the limited amount of excavation provides little opportunity to suggest any sort of settlement hierarchy. The presence of a T-shaped 'corn-drier' might initially suggest a site of some substance (cf. Dolby, 1969) but similar structures are known from a wide range of settlements, from villas to minor farms (Morris, 1979) and the very similar example at Norton, near Malton, is associated with a pottery (Hayes & Whitley, 1950). Until more extensive excavations are carried out therefore, the Womersley site, with kerbed enclosure bank and T-shaped kiln should not be considered atypical.

The paucity of dating evidence from the Womersley site is shared by the majority of minor rural settlements on the southern part of the Magnesian Limestone outcrop and adjoining formations. Although most are known only from field walking collections, it is apparent that, in contrast with Lincolnshire beyond the Trent, pottery does not represent a major item in the rural domestic economy. Thus, even allowing for dispersal out onto the fields by manuring, extended occupation through the late Iron Age and much of the Roman period may be reflected in sherds from perhaps a few dozen vessels. During the second to fourth century, this occurs despite the proximity of one of the major pottery industries of Roman Britain immediately south of Doncaster (Buckland et al., 1980). Although parts of the field systems associated with settlement are demonstrably pre-Roman (cf. Riley, 1980; Buckland, 1986), this effectively aceramic cultural background is difficult to trace. Late pre-Roman Iron Age pottery appears at Scratta Wood, near Worksop and, although Challis and Harding (1975) prefer to see the few Roman sherds from the site as reflecting 'squatter occupation', it seems more probable that occupation continued into the Roman period, as Sydes and Symonds (1985) have recently suggested for their site at Pickburn, near Doncaster. At Edlington Wood site 8, the earliest pottery is Flavian and the latest finds are early fourth century (Sumpter, 1973 & pers. comm.). Field walking assemblages, show a more restricted range; with little early material and only one site, on the edge of the Limestone outcrop near Hickleton, so far producing late fourth century material. Availability of pottery to the rural community fluctuated. Recent study of the South Yorkshire kiln groups has shown a major re-orientation of the potteries in terms of product range during the early third century, perhaps a result of the curtailment of northern military markets (Buckland et al., in prep.), and it is the later products which are most frequent on the minor local rural sites; the result is that the majority of settlements appear to be third century (cf. Samuels & May, 1980). The Womersley finds fit into this pattern, with only a few sherds of plain Central Gaulish samian from the ploughsoil suggesting earlier occupation. The stratigraphic sequence, with three phases of enclosure bank, at least two of which precede the insertion of the T-shaped oven, suggests a protracted occupation, perhaps extending through much of the Roman period. The presence of beehive querns cannot be taken to indicate pre-Roman occupation, as Keighley (1981, 130) has done in West Yorkshire, as the type continues into the Roman period, alongside rotary querns, on such purely Roman sites as the first to second century fort at Templeborough, near Rotherham (May, 1922). Only the T-shaped oven can be regarded as reasonably dated, the mortarium in its filling belonging to the period A.D. 250-350, and the majority of similar structures elsewhere belong to the latter half of the Roman period (Morris, 1979). No other part of the structures can be tentatively dated by analogy. Kerbed enclosure banks are widespread, occurring, for example, at Scratta Wood (Challis & Harding,

1973, fig. 73) and Edlington Wood (Ramm, 1980), although the absence of a ditch on sites of the Womersley type means that many will have been completely destroyed by ploughing on the thin limestone soils. Only in areas of old woodland is preservation sufficient to provide parallels and none of these sites has been adequately excavated. Similar banked sites have been noted in woods in Cadeby, Edlington (*op.cit.*) and Anston (Sydes, pers,.comm.) parishes, lying both north and south of the Don, and examples are also known from the Coal Measures to the wests (Dolby, 1981); casual finds throughout the region suggest a greater frequency of small farmsteads than is immediately apparent. In the vicinity of Womersley, aerial photography has located field systems and probable settlement sites on the Limestone around Darrington, 4km to the west (Keighley, 1981, 121) and Kirk Smeaton, 3km to the south, (Riley, 1976) the latter area having also produced a Corieltauvian (Coritanian) coin as well as Roman pottery. 1.5km to the north of the excavated site, on the edge of Cridling Stubbs village, a hoard of about 3,300 small bronze coins was concealed in an early Huntcliff-type jar (Pirie, 1969) *ca* A.D. 345 in the bank of a further site; this group is the latest datable find from the immediate area.

Despite the spread of evidence along the Limestone outcrop, the nature of the economy of the settlements is poorly known and the ghosts of Piggott's (1958) Brigantian 'footloose Celtic cowboys' remain (cf. Cunliffe, 1975, 205; Keighley, 1981, 120). The disposition of Roman forts along the Don in the Julio-Claudian period might support the contention that this major river provided the boundary between the Corieltauvi and the Brigantes (Buckland, 1986), yet the available evidence, largely aerial photography, shows no major differences in the nature of sites north and south of the river and, as parts of the field systems are demonstrably pre-Roman (*op.cit.;* Riley, 1980), this uniformity can be extended back into the Iron Age. The pattern is one of non-nucleated settlement, small farmsteads perhaps a kilometre apart, and a mixed farming economy would seem most appropriate; a similar pattern can be extended into the Vale of York (Addyman, 1984; Ramm, 1980). The material evidence is slight, however, and it is singularly unfortunate that no samples were taken from the Womersley 'corn-drier'. Probable storage pits for cereals occur at both Scratta Wood (Challis & Harding, 1973) and Ledston (Keighley, 1981) and the high frequency of beehive querns thoughout the area would suggest some cereal production. The animal bone from the Pickburn site, recently excavated by Sydes and Symonds (1985), includes cattle, sheep/goat, pig and horse (Berg in *op.cit.*), cattle being most frequent but details are not yet available. Bone reports from the major settlements which these small farms may have been related to, Doncaster and Castleford, have yet to appear (cf. Turner, 1986).

Although rural farmsteads appear to have been poorly drawn into the trading network with regard to pottery, full integration into the Roman market economy is suggested by the large number of coin hoards from minor sites (cf. Mattingly & Dolby, 1982). Jones (1981) has drawn an ingenious parallel with subsistence farmers in Tanzania faced with a cash economy and the problems of dealing with a glut of agricultural surplus products at one season of the year. His argument relates to the widespread occurrence of Roman 'corn-driers'. Following the experiments of Reynolds, which implied that such kilns were inefficient as crop driers, (Reynolds & Langley, 1980; Reynolds, 1981), he suggests that they were employed to convert sprouted barley to malt for brewing, thereby producing a product marketable over a long period, avoiding a depression of prices and a winter subsistence crisis. Whilst barley is the cereal most often recovered from kiln's (Bowker, pers. comm.), a wide range of other crops, perhaps in part fuel residues, has been noted from them (Morris, 1979) and multiple use seems probable. Recent ethnographic parallels from the Highlands and Atlantic Islands show drying kilns being employed for barley, (Williamson, 1948) and wild cereals (*Elymus arenarius*) (Tomasson, 1973; Rasmussen, 1978). If barley was habitually reaped before coming wholly ripe, to

avoid loss through its brittle rachis, drying before threshing would have been a necessity. Whatever the explanation, the Womersley kiln provides not unexpected evidence for late Roman cereal cultivation along the Magnesian Limestone outcrop.

Acknowledgements

The Museum is indebted to the landowner, the Right Honourable the Earl of Rosse and his estate manager, Lt.-Colonel Smart, both for access to the site and a grant towards the costs of excavation. The quarry director, Mr. B. Slater and his employees are gratefully acknowledged for their interest and assistance on the site. Particular thanks must go to Ms. S. Leek and her father, without whose vigilance the site would have been lost without record. Ms. C. Bowker, Dr. C. Hayfield, A. B. Sumpter and R. Sydes have also contributed much to this report by way of discussion.

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THE ANGLO-SAXON CEMETERY OF HOB HILL, SALTBURN

By D. B. GALLAGHER

Summary

This cemetery of mixed cremations and inhumations was discovered in 1909–10 and a short account was published in 1912. The present paper reviews the evidence of the burials and presents details of the surviving finds, along with a brief consideration of their archaeological implications.

Introduction

The cemetery of Hob Hill was uncovered during 1909 and 1910 in the course of open-cast ironstone mining. It was situated on a small plateau (NZ 651 205) at about 85m above sea level and 1.7 km from the sea. The deep valley of Skelton Beck limits the area to the south-east whilst to the north-east the land gradually falls away to the estuarine plain of the River Tees at Redcar (fig. 1).

The record of the cemetery relies entirely on the work of William Hornsby, a local farmer, whose interest in the site was the first of his many archaeological investigations in the area. Hornsby recognised the importance of the site in October 1909 and proceeded to retrieve grave goods in advance of ironstone extraction until the following summer. In order to identify the finds he corresponded with Mortimer, Greenwell and, at a later date, Reginald Smith. Mortimer appears to have been the first to have identified

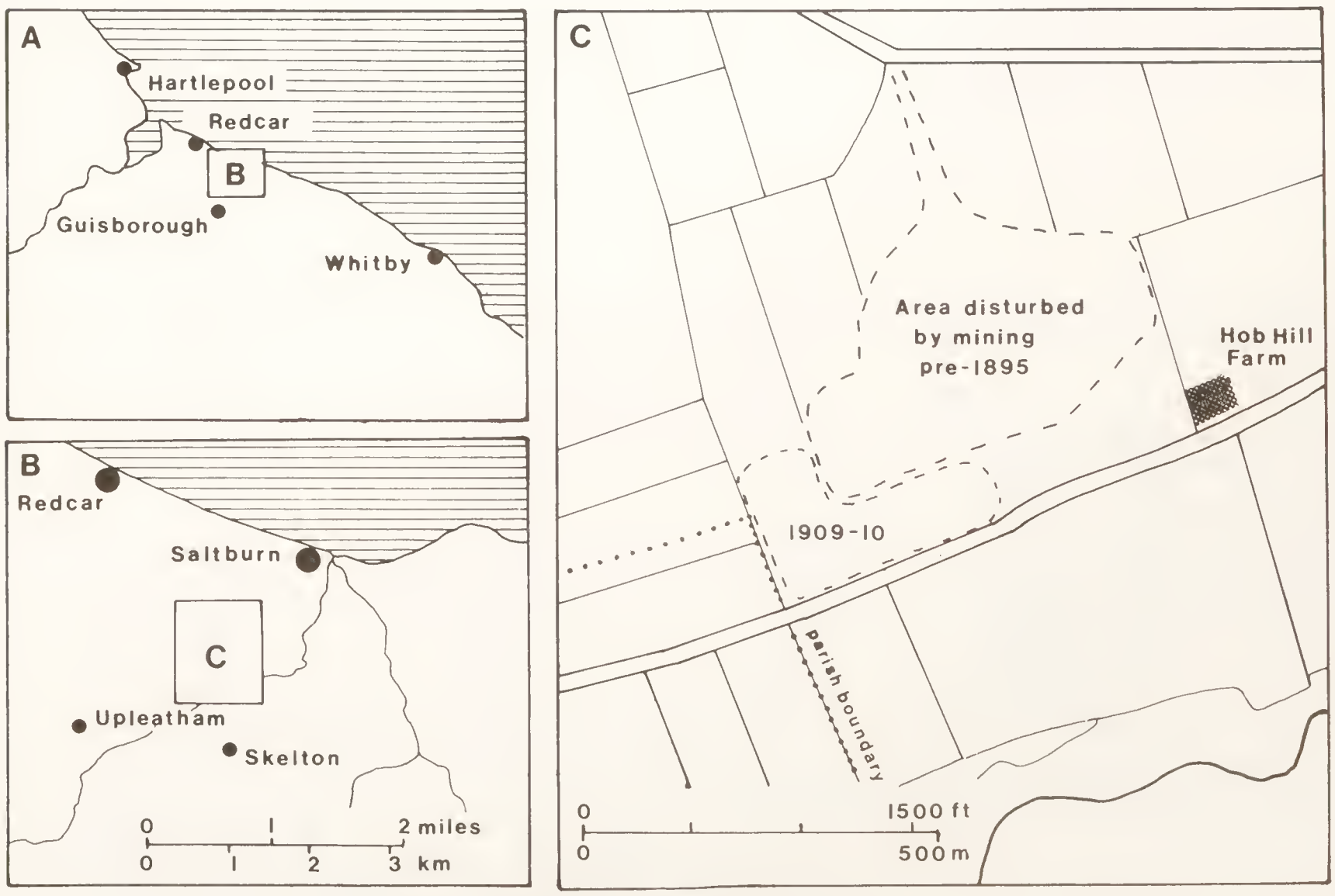

Fig. 1 Hob Hill cemetery, location map

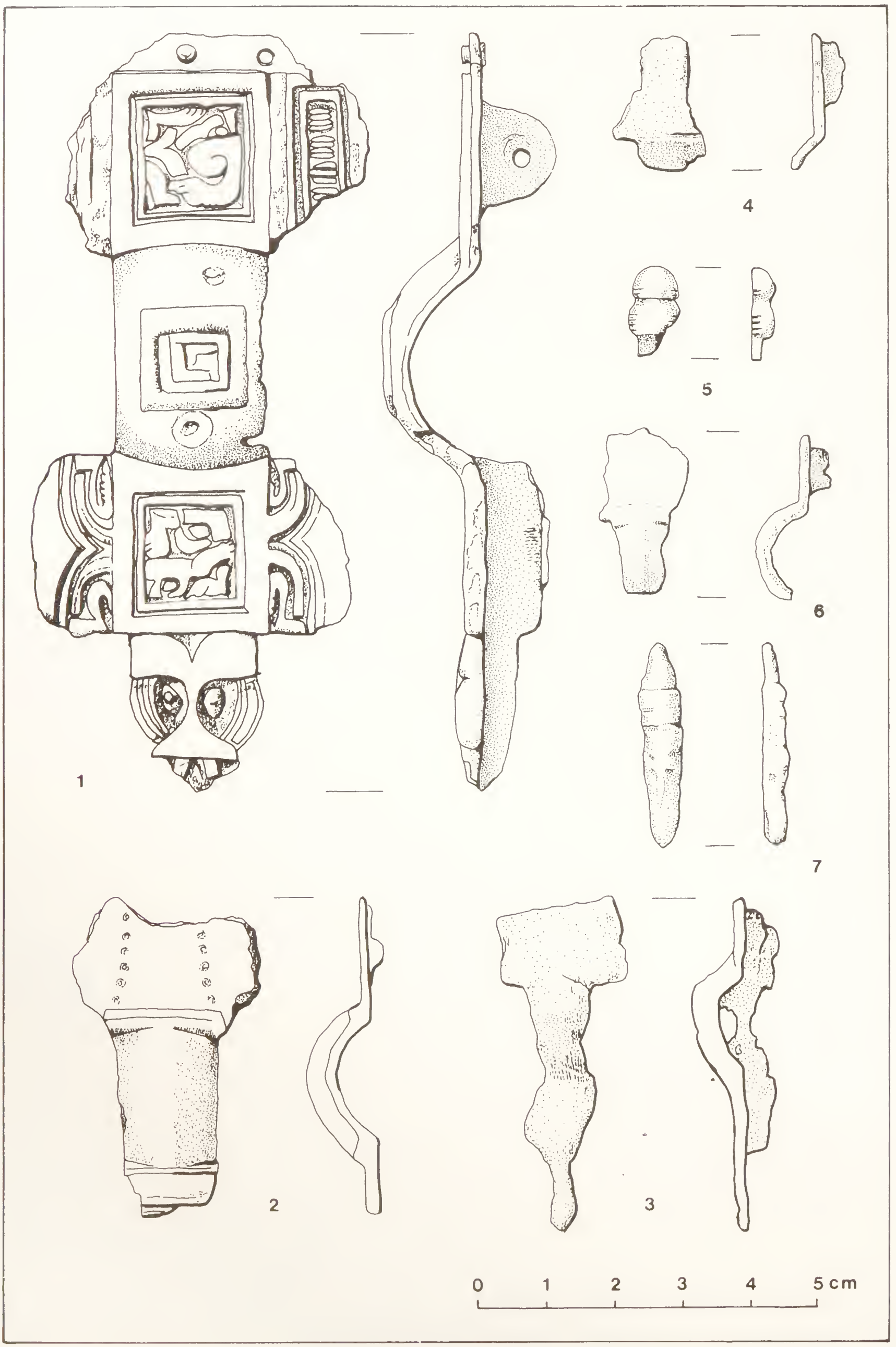

Fig. 2 Hob Hill: finds of bronze, scale 1:1.

the Anglo-Saxon nature of the site.[1] Shortly after each group of finds were discovered they were dispatched to one or more of these advisors for their comment. Hornsby published his findings in abbreviated form shortly after the final discoveries on the site.[2] The aim of the present paper is to present the surviving evidence in as full a form as possible using both the initial report and information from Hornsby's received correspondence.

Catalogue of Burials

Ironstone had been extracted during the late nineteenth century in the area immediately north-east of the 1909 mining but there is no record of burials having been noted during the course of mining. Mineral extraction recommenced in 1909 when an unknown number of burials were destroyed before Hornsby started his 'watching brief' in the October of that year. These lay at a depth of 2 to 3 feet (0.6m to 1m) below the contemporary ground level.[3] Hornsby does not seem to have had any practical help on site and it is not clear if he attempted any systematic excavation of burials. Greenwell advised him to make notes and plans[4] but there is no evidence of such among his papers. The original report contained certain inaccuracies concerning the dates on which artifacts were uncovered; these have been corrected where possible by reference to Hornsby's correspondence. The numbering of the burials is the work of the present writer.

1-16 Cremations, uncovered October to December 1909:

1-4 Four burials, each consisting of 'a layer of charred bones and ashes, without a trace of pottery'.[5] A bead necklace was found below one of these.

5-16 Twelve cremations in 'dark coloured urns', the upper halves of which were always broken. Two were decorated with 'lines and impressed patterns'. Beads were found below five of the urns, in one case these were all amber.

The beads from burials 1-16 included two of gilded glass, three of jet and at least one of crystal.[6]

17-40 Twenty-four burials uncovered in the first three months of 1910.

These were recorded as lying in two 'fairly parallel' north to south lines about 6 yards (6m) apart and 50 yards (50m) in length. The cremations were most numerous towards the southern end of this line and the occurrence of inhumations greater towards the north. Distances between individual burials varied from 1 to 3 yards (1-3m).

17 Inhumation, child N-S or S-N. Depth 3 feet (1m). Uncovered 2 February 1910. Skeleton in decayed state apart from teeth, which 'crumbled on exposure'.

Associated grave goods:

a. bead necklace.
b. fragment of a 'long brooch.[7]
c. 'incomplete fragments of an ornamented urn'[8] found above the teeth, of which a large part of the rim survived.[9]

18 ? Inhumation. Depth 3 feet (1m).

The site of this possible inhumation was indicated by the find of a florid cruciform brooch (Fig 2.1) 2 yards (2m) from burial 17.[10]

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1. Letters from J. R. Mortimer to W. Hornsby, 21 December 1909.
2. Hornsby, W. 'An Anglian Cemetery at Hob Hill, near Saltburn', *Y.A.J.* 22 (1912), pp. 131-137. Subsequently referred to as Hornsby 1912.
3. Ibid., p.131.
4. Letter from W. Greenwell to Hornsby, dated 4 February 1910.
5. Hornsby 1912, p.132.
6. Hornsby 1912, p.132; *Saltburn Times,* December 1909.
7. Hornsby 1912, p.133; Smith, R. A., 'The Anglo Saxon Remains' in *V.C.H. Yorkshire North Riding* (1912), pp. 94–95.
8. Hornsby 1912, p.133.
9. Letter from W. Greenwell to Hornsby dated 16 February 1910.
10. Hornsby 1912, pp. 133-134.

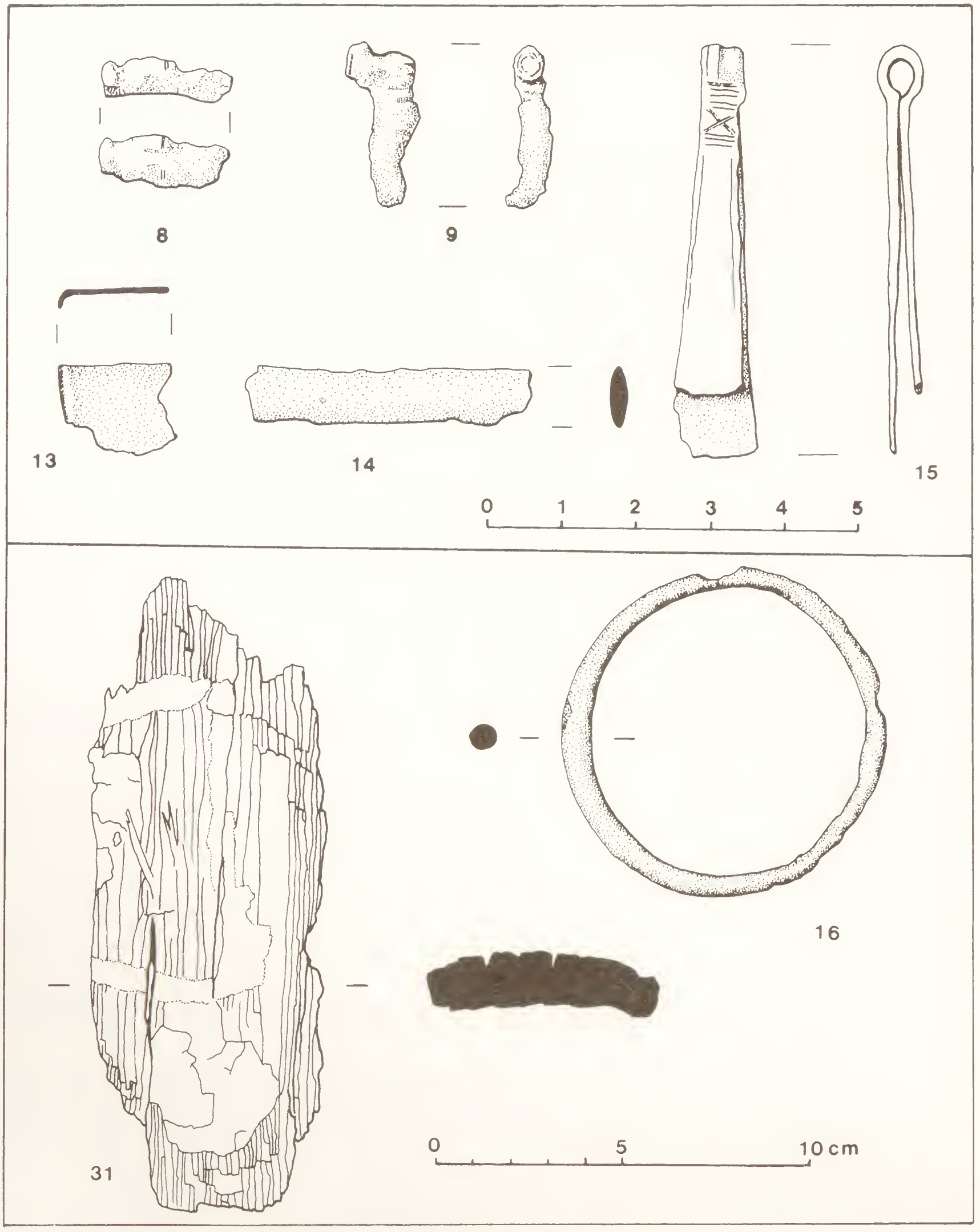

Fig. 3 Hob Hill: finds of bronze and wood; scale of nos. 8–15 at 1:1, nos. 16 and 31 at 1:2

19 Adult inhumation, uncovered 1 March 1910, of which only the teeth survived.

Associated grave goods.[11]
a. 'a piece of hide'.
b. seven beads including two of amber.
c. a bronze cruciform brooch (much decayed).

20. Inhumation

Two yards (2m) from burial 19 'the ground had been disturbed as if for burial, but nothing remained.'[12]

21 Inhumation, probably N-S, found at a depth of three feet (1m). 'At a depth of three feet, a layer of much discoloured earth was noticed'.[13]

Associated grave goods:
a. 'a large piece of hide' interpreted by Hornsby as a shroud.
b. three beads (amber, blue glass and jet) found at the north end of the grave.
c. a much decayed annular brooch found 'half way along the layer'.
d. an iron buckle with bronze attachment found 'a little further on' from (c).
e. two fragments of pottery.

22 Cremation, depth unrecorded, uncovered before 20 March 1912.

Associated grave goods:
a. the 'side of a shattered urn'
b. a 'semi-circular piece of iron', possibly a buckle, found at the side of (a) above.[14]

23-28 'As many as six inhumations' uncovered during the late March 1910.[15]

Grave goods included:
a. hide
b. two bronze annular brooches, which crumbled on exposure.
c. a bead necklace of amber and glass.
d. a small accessory vessel (possibly Fig 8.99).

29 Cremation, depth unrecorded, uncovered 30 March 1910.

Associated grave goods:
a. a broken 'ornamented urn'[16]
b. a large well-made bead of amber
c. a piece of fused glass

Smith stated that the glass lump was of unrecognisable form[17] but later described it as consisting of fused glass beads.[18]

41-47 Mixed cremations and inhumations making a third line of burials, a little to the west of those previously found, uncovered 31 May 1910. Hornsby[19] referred to burials as only as interments but Smith[20] called them skeletons.

41 Probable inhumation, N-S or S-N, depth 2.5 feet (0.75m). Described by Hornsby[21] as a 'burial after cremation'.

Associated grave goods:
a. francisca (Fig. 4.17) found close to the south end of the grave.

42 Inhumation.

Associated grave goods:
a. knife

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11. Ibid., p.134.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid.
14. Letter from W. Greenwell to Hornsby dated 19 March 1910; Hornsby 1912, p.134.
15. Hornsby 1912, p.134.
16. Ibid.
17. Letter from R. A. Smith to Hornsby dated 12 April 1910.
18. Smith R. A., 'The Anglo-Saxon Remains, in *V.C.H. Yorkshire North Riding*, p.94.
19. Hornsby 1912, p.136.
20. Smith, op. cit., p.95.
21. Hornsby 1912, p.136.

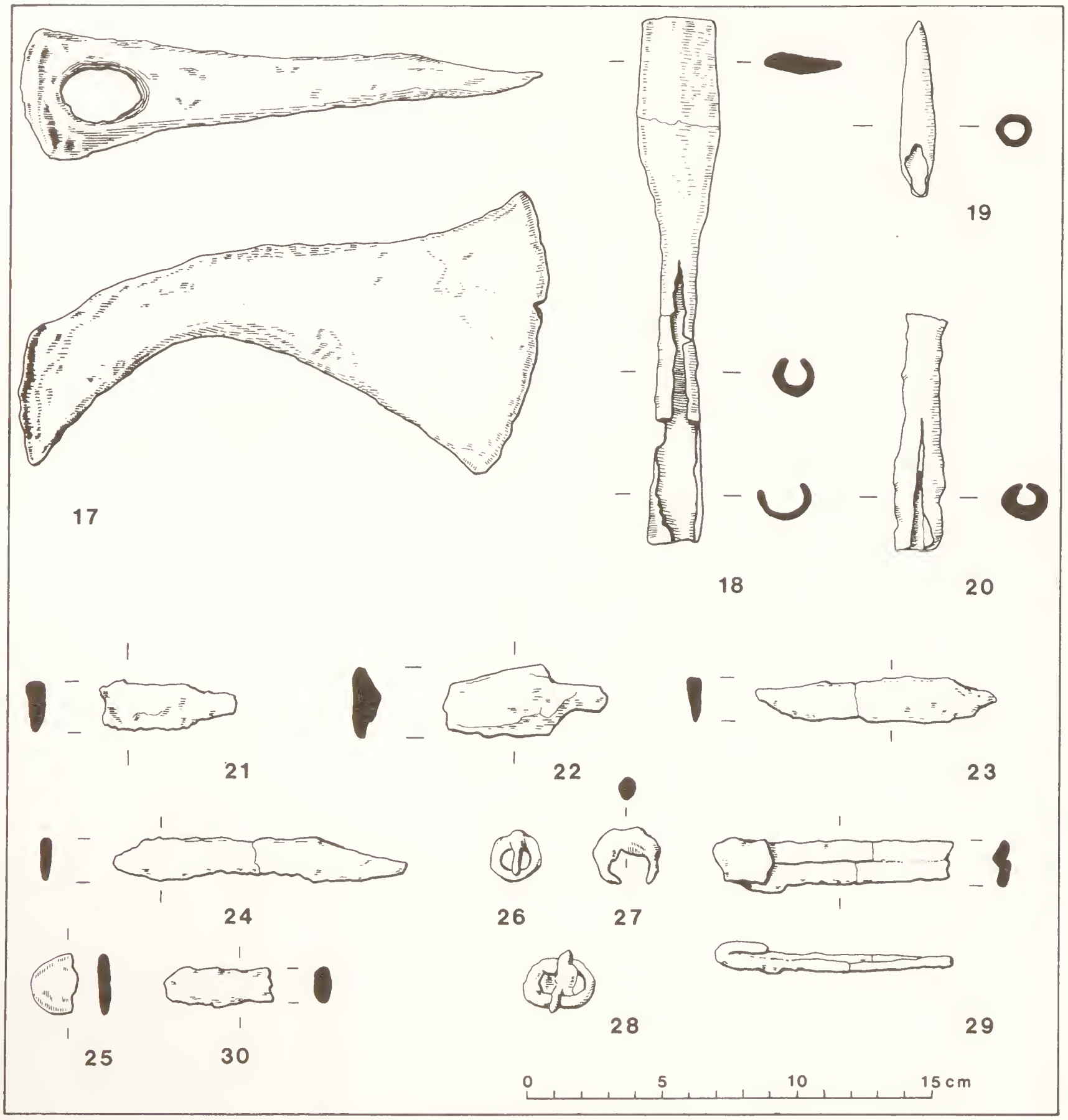

Fig. 4 Hob Hill: finds of iron, scale 1:3.

43 Inhumation.
Associated grave goods:
a. knife

44 Inhumation.
Associated grave goods:
a. knife.

45 Inhumation.
Associated grave goods:
a. spear socket (Fig 8.20) and ferrule (Fig 8.19)

46 Inhumation
Associated grave goods:
a. spearhead (Fig 4.18)

47 Adult inhumation, possibly with coffin, discovered 31 May 1912. Hornsby[22] recorded a 'wooden receptacle (like a chest), the material of which (oak) though previously charred as a preservative, was in very great decay . . . With difficulty one traced a length of upwards of five feet [1.5m], a breadth of two feet [0.6m], and a height of 1½ feet [0.45m]'. Only the teeth survived.

Associated grave goods:

a. bronze ring found embedded in oak (Fig. 3.16), discovered 'just above the wooden receptacle'.
Found inside the coffin:
b. bronze annular brooch
c. necklace of beads (amber, crystal and opaque glass)

48 Cremation, uncovered a little later than burials 41–47 but on the same line.[23]

Associated grave goods:

a. an 'ornamented urn'
b. bronze tweezers (probably Fig 3.15) found at bottom of (a).

Discussion of Burials

Hob Hill, Saltburn, was a mixed cemetery with cremations, inhumations and possibly half-cremations. The total number of burials found by Hornsby is unknown and discussion is hampered by the vague descriptions of those that he recorded.

The cremations were intermingled with inhumations but were more common in the east and south of the excavated area[24]. Grave goods found with cremations included pottery vessels, buckles, beads both of glass and amber, and tweezers. Some of the beads had been subjected to heat. The tweezers in burial 48 were found at the very bottom of the pot and were probably placed there before the cremated remains. There was a suggestion that all the cremation urns had been deliberately broken at burial.[25] In several instances a cremation may have been spread in a grave or half-cremation may have taken place. Burials 1–4 were 'merely a layer of charred bones and ashes', a bead necklace being found under one such layer.[26] Burials 17–40 included one that was a 'layer of burnt bones'[27] Burial 41 was described as a 'burial after cremation'. The francisca (Fig. 4.17) was from the south end of this grave. The *Saltburn Times* of 12 November 1909 in its report on the discoveries commented on the 'large number of coloured pebbles, often forming a thin layer above the burial deposit'. This parallels a similar use of stones at Spong Hill[28] and the egg-shaped pebbles found in some cremation vessels at Sancton.[29]

The inhumations were richer in artifacts than the cremations. The grave goods included spears, knives, beads, brooches and pottery. Burials 17–40 appeared to lie in two almost parallel lines[30] with 'the head of one being towards the feet of another'.[31] If one can presume that the beads in burial 21, which lay at the north end of the grave, rested near the head, then those burials must have been north-south. Northern orientation was common in Northumbria in the Roman and Post-Roman periods but was rare among pagan Anglo-Saxon burials. Faull sees this continuation of northern orientation as evidence for the existence of a British element in society.[32]

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22. Ibid.
23. Ibid.
24. Ibid., pp.132-133.
25. Ibid., p.135.
26. Ibid., p.136.
27. Ibid., p.133.
28. Hills, C., 'The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Spong Hill, North Elmham, Part I', *East Anglian Archaeology*, 6 (1977), fig. 141.
29. Meaney, A., *A Gazetteer of Early Anglo-Saxon Burial Sites*, (1964), p.298.
30. Hornsby 1912, p.133.
31. Smith, op. cit., p.133.
32. Faull, M. L., 'British Survival in Anglo-Saxon Northumbria' in Laing, L. (ed.), *Studies in Celtic Survival* (Oxford 1977), p.5.

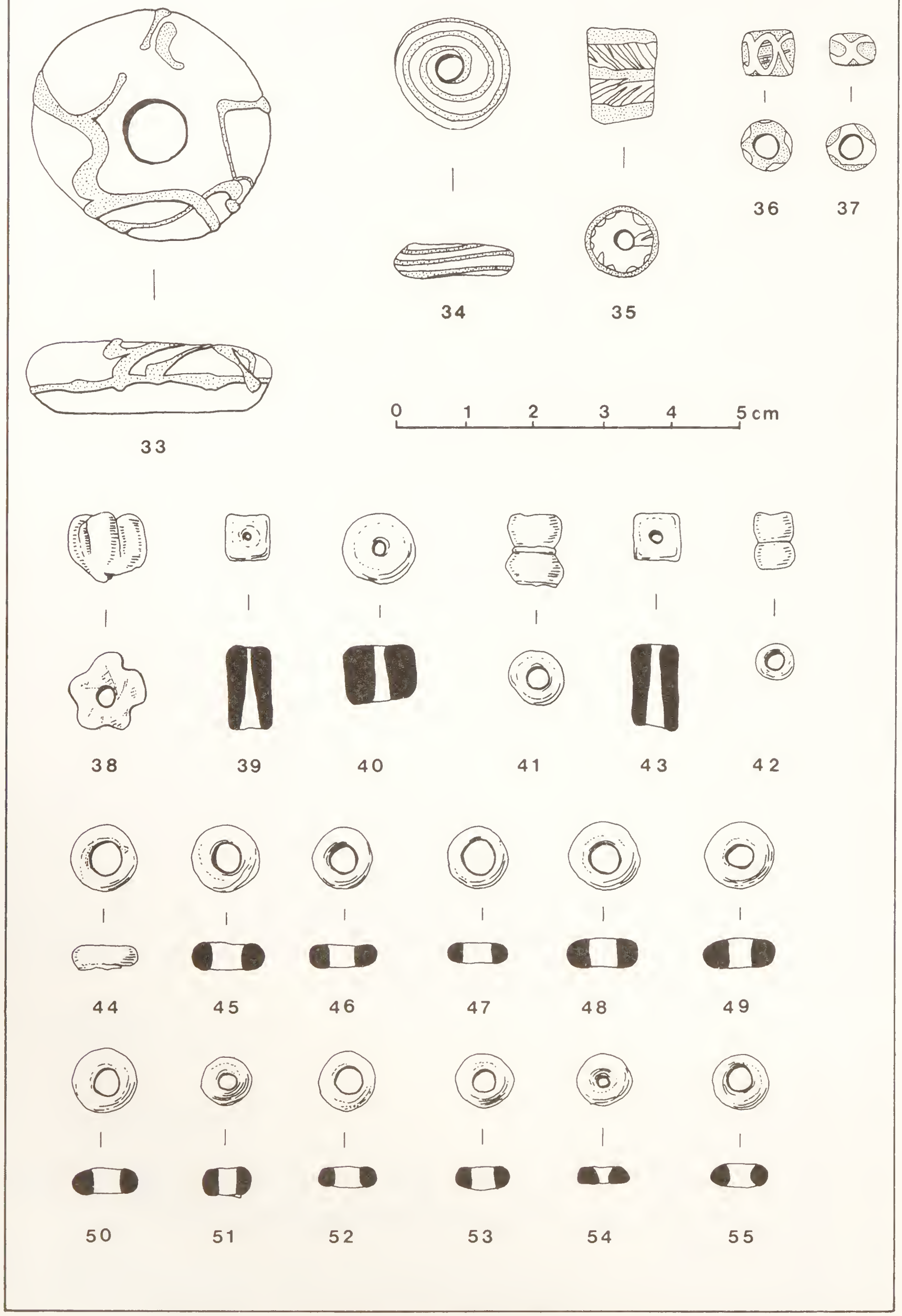

Fig. 5 Hob Hill: beads, scale 1:1.

A number of inhumations were accompanied with what Hornsby described as 'hide'. Burial 21 contained a large piece of this material which was interpreted by the excavator as a shroud.[33] The same grave also had a layer of 'much-discoloured earth', possibly the remains of similar organic material. 'Hide' was also recorded present in burial 19 and among burials 23-28. This 'hide' no longer survives, so its identity cannot be resolved. Burial 47 was notable in that it appeared to have contained a coffin. This may have reflected the burial of a person of high status, although the grave goods were not outstanding. A bronze ring, of unidentified purpose, had been placed on top of the coffin. It may have formed part of some larger object. Coffin burials were unusual in Deira, having been noted at Sewerby,[34] Garton Slack[35] and Uncleby,[36] although this may reflect deficiency in recording methods.

No limits to the cemetery were noted. Burials were not recorded when ironstone was mined in the area to the immediate north and north-east during the second half of the nineteenth century, but any evidence could easily have been overlooked. The cemetery may have extended to the south towards the slightly higher ground on the crest of Hob Hill, under the present golf course. The place-name of Hob Hill, with its association with demons, suggests that burials were uncovered at some time in the past. No surface remains were noted prior to the mining operation of 1909-10, the land having been ploughed 'for generations'.[37] The right angle in the parish boundary at this point suggests that there was a prominent landscape feature present when it was laid out, possibly a barrow.

Discussion of Finds

The florid cruciform brooch (Fig 2.1)

A brooch of Leeds's group V(j), this is a Midland type, similar examples being known from Baginton, Warwickshire, Brixworth, Northants and Willoughby-on-the-Wolds, Notts.[38] Florid cruciform brooches are rare north of the Humber, others being recorded at Driffield and Catterick. The Saltburn brooch has been placed by Pocock in a group dating from the second half of the sixth and early seventh centuries.[39]

The bronze ring (Fig 3.16)

This was found in burial 47 resting on a piece of oak, possibly a coffin, into which it had become partly embedded. Hornsby interpreted it as belonging to a large bucket,[40] following the opinion of R. A. Smith who compared it with the Taplow bucket.[41] Another possibility is that it is a large annular brooch, although it would be unusual in its round section.[42]

The francisca (Fig. 4.17)

Axes of this type are generally of a fifth to sixth-century date. Their English

33. Hornsby 1912, p.14.
34. Meaney, op. cit., p.300.
35. Mortimer, J. R., *Forty Years Researches in British and Saxon Burial Mounds in East Yorkshire,* (1906), p.276.
36. Ibid., p.118.
37. Hornsby 1912, p.135.
38. Leeds, E. T. and Pocock, M., 'A Survey of the Anglo Saxon cruciform brooches of the florid type', *Mea Arch.* 15 (1971), pp. 20 and 33.
39. Ibid., p.34.
40. Hornsby 1912, p.132.
41. Letter from R. A. Smith to Hornsby dated 1 September 1910.
42. Leeds, E. T., 'The Distribution of the Angles and Saxons Archaeologically Considered', *Archaeologia* 91 (1945), p.48.

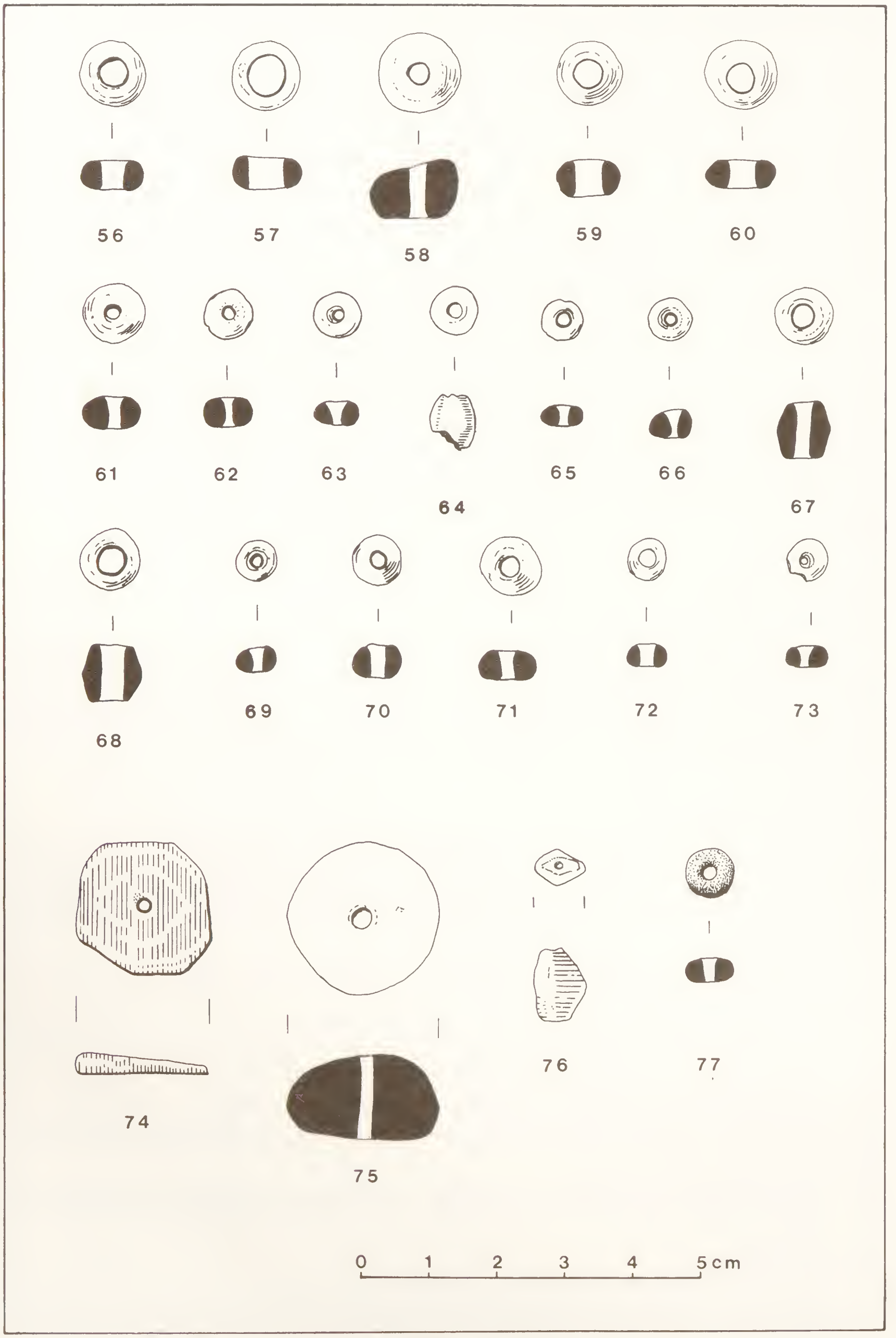

Fig. 6 Hob Hill: beads, scale 1:1.

distribution is mainly confined to the south-east, Saltburn being a northern outlier. Its shape may be roughly paralleled with those from Howletts, Kent,[43] Ozengall, Kent[44] and Winterbourne Gunner, Wilts.[45]

The spearhead (Fig 4.18)

This is a Swanton type C2, a form that has a wide distribution throughout England. The date range of finds associated with this type ranges from the earliest Anglo-Saxon settlements to circa 700, with the majority belonging to the seventh century.[46]

The beads (Fig 5-7)

The large annular bead and the blue segmented bead reflect a non-Saxon tradition in beads. The general assemblage may be dated to the early sixth century.[47]

The 'triplets with gold inside' noted by Hornsby[48] and the *Saltburn Times* of 12 November 1909 were presumably gold-in-glass segmented beads. In Britain these are normally found in late fifth and early sixth century contexts.

The pottery (Fig. 8)

The pottery preserved today represents only a small portion of that found. Hornsby remarked that 'many' pots in one part of the cemetery were only one foot or less underground.[49] None of the surviving pots can be assigned to a particular grave, but the small vessel, find no. 100, may be that found with burials 23-28, all of which were inhumations. Finds nos. 104 and 105 were accessioned by the Dorman Museum, Middlesbrough, in 1909; they must have been found in the eastern part of the cemetery which was uncovered in that year.

The pottery was always discovered in a broken state,[50] the reasons for this being a source of constant speculation at the time of excavation. These ranged from ritual destruction[51] to Mortimer's dour comment in his first letter to Hornsby on 21 December 1909 noting that 'the potsherds are fragments of Anglo-Saxon cinerary urns which if they had been extracted with more care might have been obtained in more or less perfect condition'. Smith suggested that their fragmentary state was due to plough damage.[52] Another contributory factor may have been the weight of soil.

Find no. 102 is a Buckelurne of Myres group IV.[53] It is comparable with others from Heworth[54] and Sancton.[55] Myres sees the distribution of these later types of Buckelurnen as evidence for the further concentration of Anglian settlement in the Humbrensian area in the later fifth and early sixth centuries, Saltburn being yet again noted as an outlier.[56]

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43. Evison, V. I., *Fifth Century Invasions South of the Thames,* (1965), p.122.
44. Brown, G. B., *The Arts in Early England,* Vol. III (1915), p.231.
45. Evison, op. cit., fig. 20.
46. Swanton, M. J., *The Spearheads of the Anglo-Saxon Settlement,* (1973), p.53.
47. Personal communication from Mrs. M. Guido.
48. Hornsby 1912, p.132.
49. Ibid., p.135.
50. Ibid., p.132 and p.135.
51. Ibid., p.135.
52. Smith, R. A., 'The Anglo Saxon Remains', *V.C.H. Yorkshire North Riding* (1912), p.95.
53. Myres, J. N. L., *Anglo Saxon Pottery and the Settlement of England,* (1969) p.45. Subsequently referred to as Myres 1969.
54. Myres, J. N. L., *A Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Pottery of the Pagan Period,* (1977), nos. 86 and 92. Subsequently referred to as Myres 1977.
55. Myres, J. N. L. and Southern W. H., *The Anglo-Saxon Cremation Cemetery at Sancton, East Yorkshire,* Hull Museum Publications No. 218 (1973), fig. 17.
56. Myres 1977, p.103.

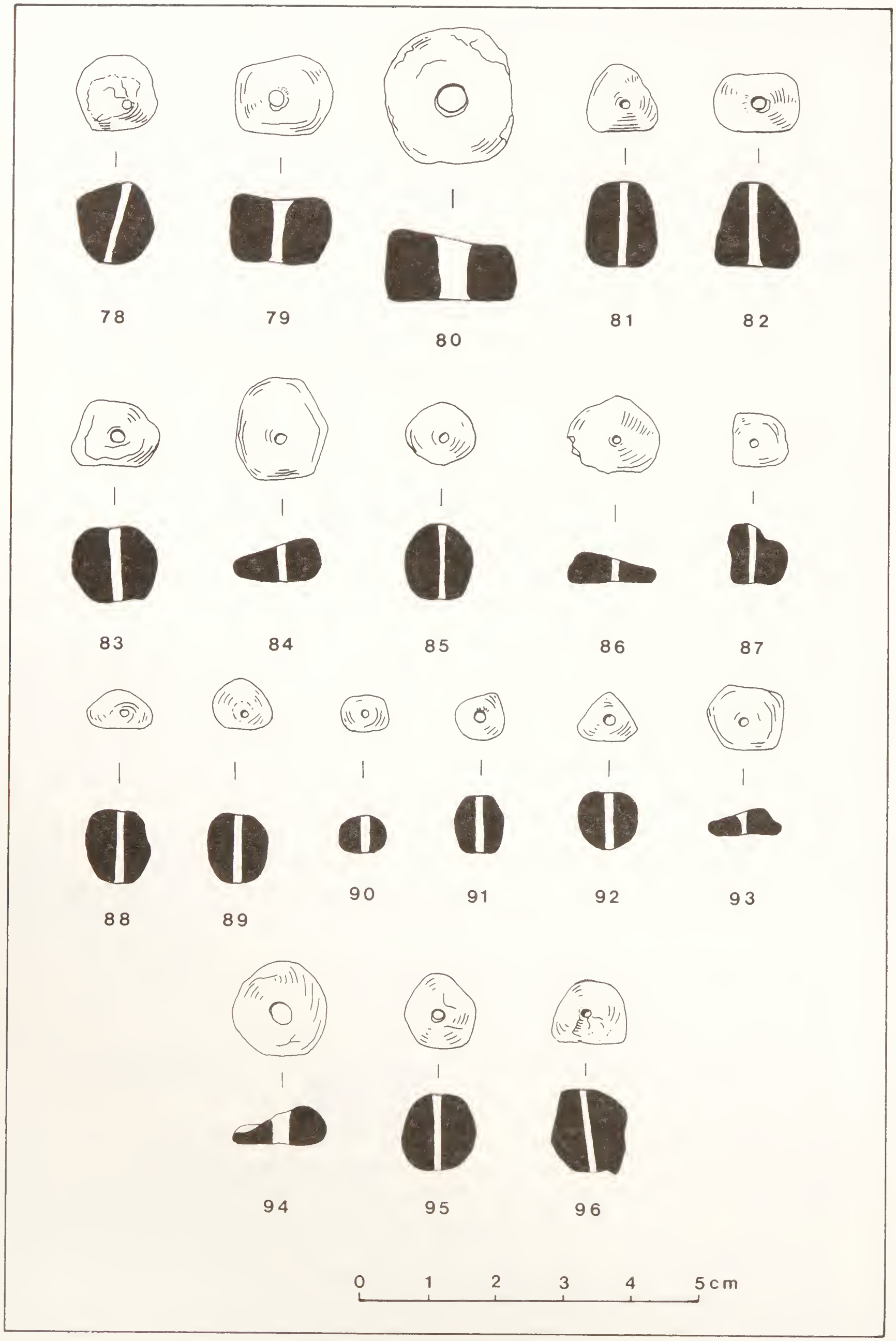

Fig. 7 Hob Hill: beads, scale 1:1.

Find no. 103 is in a style typified by pots ornamented with one or more stamped zones above continuous chevrons or empty pendant triangles and is common to the whole Humbrensian area in the early sixth century.[57]

Find no. 104 is of a type derived from continental forms of fourth-century date,[58] but the production of English examples may have continued into the early sixth century.[59] It is paralleled by similar vessels from Heworth, Yorkshire,[60] Girton, Cambridgeshire,[61] Elkington, Lincolnshire[62] and Loveden Hill, Lincolnshire.[63]

Find no. 105, decorated with *hangende Bogen,* is a late example of its type where the swags have increased in size in order to accommodate a fuller display of stamps. There are similar examples from St. John's, Cambridge,[64] Sancton[65] and Robin Hood's Bay.[66] This last pot has been dated by its associated finds to the sixth century.[67]

Conclusions

An analysis of the grave goods from Hob Hill indicates a date centred on the early sixth century, with the florid cruciform brooch suggesting a continuation of burial into the latter half of that century. Although Hob Hill is the most northernly recorded Anglo-Saxon cemetery containing both cremations and inhumations, the surviving evidence allows no chronological distinction to be made between the two forms of burial.

The only other indication of early Saxon settlement in the Saltburn area is from Redcar, 3.5 km north-west of Hob Hill, where pottery of a possibly contemporary nature has been found (see Appendix below).

The distribution of settlement at this period is unknown and the cemetery either may have served a community situated close to Hob Hill or several surrounding communities. The latter is possibly more likely; Hob Hill lies in an area central to the parishes of Skelton. Marske and Upleatham, and on the boundary of the latter two, the parish of Upleatham having an eastwards extension to this point (Fig 9). If these medieval parishes reflect earlier territorial divisions, then it is probable that the cemetery was situated on land peripheral to these communities and that after the introduction of Christianity it was eventually abandoned in favour of churchyard burial.[68] Late Saxon sculpture is known from Upleatham[69] and Skelton;[70] the graveyards of these churches represent the Christian successors to Hob Hill.

Hob Hill is separated from the main settlement area of Deira by high moorland and a long stretch of inhospitable coastline. The cemetery lay at the beginning of lower, more fertile land that extends to the north into the lower Tees valley. It may mark a step in the Anglo-Saxon settlement of this area in the sixth century and can be linked with the

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57. Myres and Southern, op. cit., p.26.
58. Myres 1977, p.122.
59. Eagles, B. N., *The Anglo-Saxon Settlement of Humberside,* (Oxford 1979), p.94.
60. Myres 1977, no. 93.
61. Ibid., no. 163.
62. Ibid., no. 685.
63. Ibid., no. 551.
64. Ibid., no. 3377.
65. Ibid., no. 2299.
66. Ibid., no. 121.
67. Faull, M. L., 'Roman and Anglian settlement patterns in Yorkshire', *Northern History,* 9 (1971), p.18.
68. Faull, M. L., 'The location and relationship of Sancton Anglo-Saxon cemeteries', *Ant. J.* 56 (1976), pp.232-33.
69. Knight, S., 'St. Andrews Old Church, Upleatham' in Addyman, P. and Morris, R. (eds.), *The Archaeological Study of Churches,* C.B.A. Research Report no. 13 (1976), pp.40-41, 86.
70. Okasha, E., *Hand-list of Non-Runic Inscriptions,* (1971), p.114.

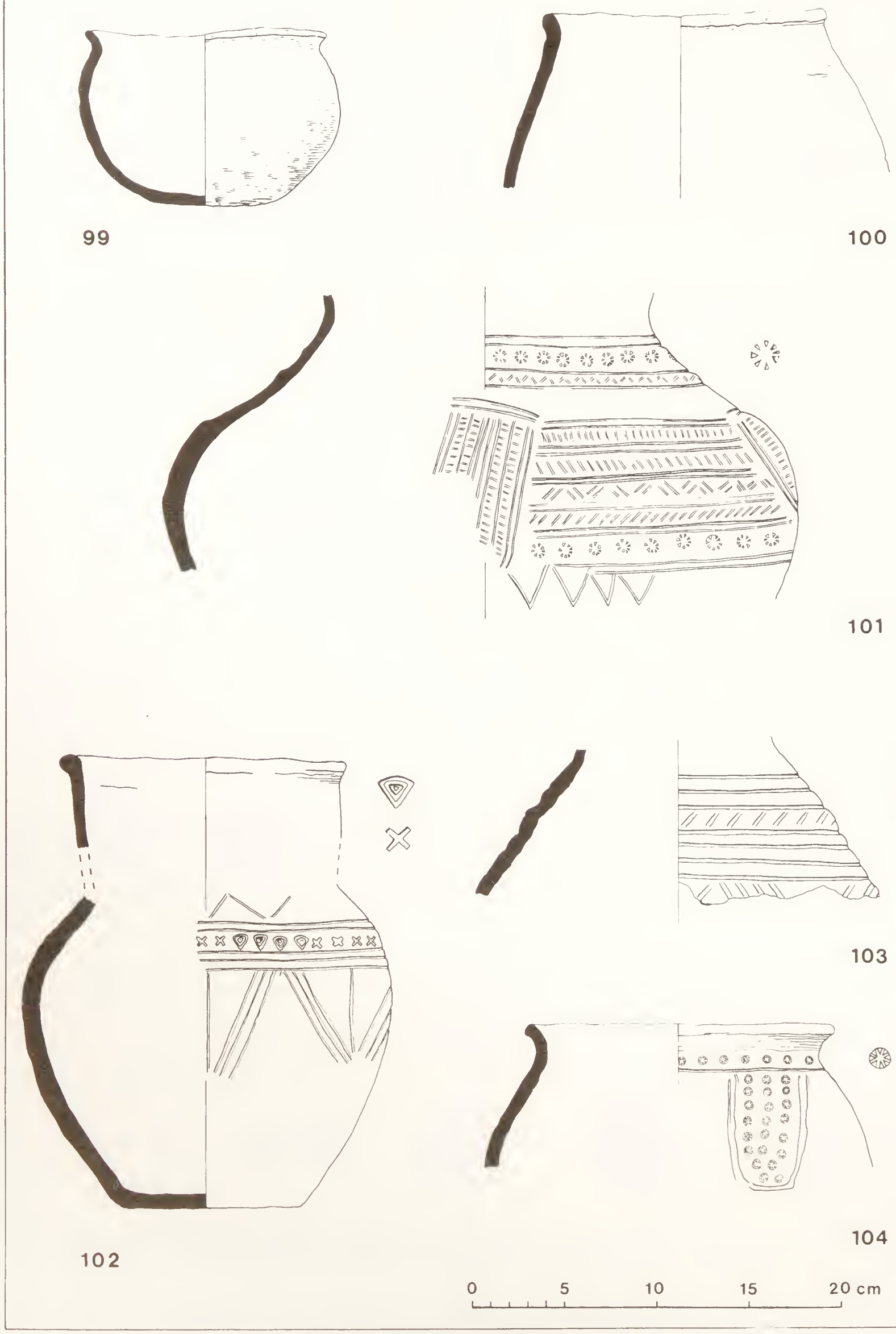

Fig. 8 Hob Hill: pottery, scale 1:4.

recently discovered cemetery to the north at Norton[71] and with a single pot from Yarm.[72] The grave goods indicate strong cultural links with Deira, Lindsey and the west Midlands.

Catalogue of Finds

All finds, except numbers 98, 99 and 103, are in the collection of Cleveland County Museum Service and their descriptions are followed by their accession numbers.

Bronze (Figs 2, 3)

1 Florid cruciform brooch, cast and chip-carved, traces of gilt. 1924/40/1. (Fig 2.1)
A brooch of Leeds's type V(j),[73] knobs and lower foot missing, present length 110 mm, Headplate with zoomorphic design in square panel with an incised linear border; two strips of niello flank the vertical edges of the headplate. On the right is a rectangular panel with a line of linked lenticular pellets surrounded by a plain zone with a border of incised fluting. A square panel on the midpoint of the bow contains a debased zoomorphic design enclosed by a linear border with punched circlets below. The upper footplate has a debased zoomorphic or anthromorphic design in a square panel within an incised linear border. The rectangular lappets have an outer plain zone with broken edges and an inner zone with pairs of debased crouching animals, those on the right being bordered on the outer edge with narrow niello inlay. The lower foot is decorated with an animal head in bas-relief. This has a triangular nose, eyes emphasised by four curved ridges and traces of two parallel lines over the brows. The lower part of the foot is missing except for the beginning of a double moulding below the animal head, possibly forming a triangular tongue. The back of the brooch is undecorated; it bears the remains of two brackets which supported the pin and clasp.

2 Square-headed or cruciform brooch (fig 2.2). Length 48mm. Headplate, damaged, with two lines of punched circles; incised horizontal lines on surviving fragment of the footplate. 1924/40/2.

3 Small long brooch. Length 50mm. Possibly square-headed type.[74] 1924/40/4.

4 Brooch, possibly cruciform, consisting of headplate and bow fragment, both undecorated; length 21 mm. 1924/40/6.

5 Half-round knob; length 26 mm. 1924/40/5.

6 Bow and part of headplate of a small-long brooch; length 26mm. 1924/40/3.

7 Fragment of brooch, badly worn; animal head terminal of foot below two transverse incised lines; length 32mm. 1924/40/7.

8 Fragment of a brooch, half-round terminal with decorated with transverse incised line; length 18mm. 1924/40/8.

9 Brooch fragment with remains of incised linear decoration; length 23mm. 1924/40/9.

10 Annular brooch recorded by Hornsby as 'much decayed'.[75] Lost.

11 'Two bronze annular brooches, recorded by Hornsby as having 'crumbled on exposure'.[76]

12. 'Annular brooch of bronze', recorded by Hornsby.[77] Lost.

13 Fragment of sheeting, one edge curved; length 16mm. 1924/40/11.

14 Strip of lenticular section, decorated with a median line of punched ornament; length 38mm. 1924/40/10. Possibly a fragment of a girdle hanger, cf Sewerby, Lincs.[78]

15 Tweezers, decorated with geometric ornament, similar on both sides; length 60mm. 1924/40/12.

16 Ring, undecorated; diameter 86mm. 1924/40/13.
Found associated with a fragment of wooden plank (find no. 31) on the surface of which it had left a circular stain.

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71. Personal communications from S. J. Sherlock; Vyner, B.E., 'A Saxon Burial from Norton-on-Tees, Cleveland' in *Med. Arch.* 28 (1984), pp.173-175; Clark, J. 'Medieval Britain and Ireland in 1984' in *Med. Arch.* 29 (1985), 167.
72. Myres 1977, no. 150; Cleveland County Museum Service collection.
73. Leeds, E.T. and Pocock, M., 'A Survey of the Anglo Saxon cruciform brooches of the florid type', *Med. Arch.*, 15 (1971), p.20.
74. Leeds, E.T., 'The Distribution of the Angles and Saxons Archaeologically Considered', *Archaeologia* 91 (1945), p.26.
75. Hornsby 1912, p.134.
76. Ibid.
77. Ibid., p.136.
78. Smith, R. A., *A Guide to the Anglo-Saxon and Foreign Teutonic Antiquities* (British Museum, 1923), fig. 107.

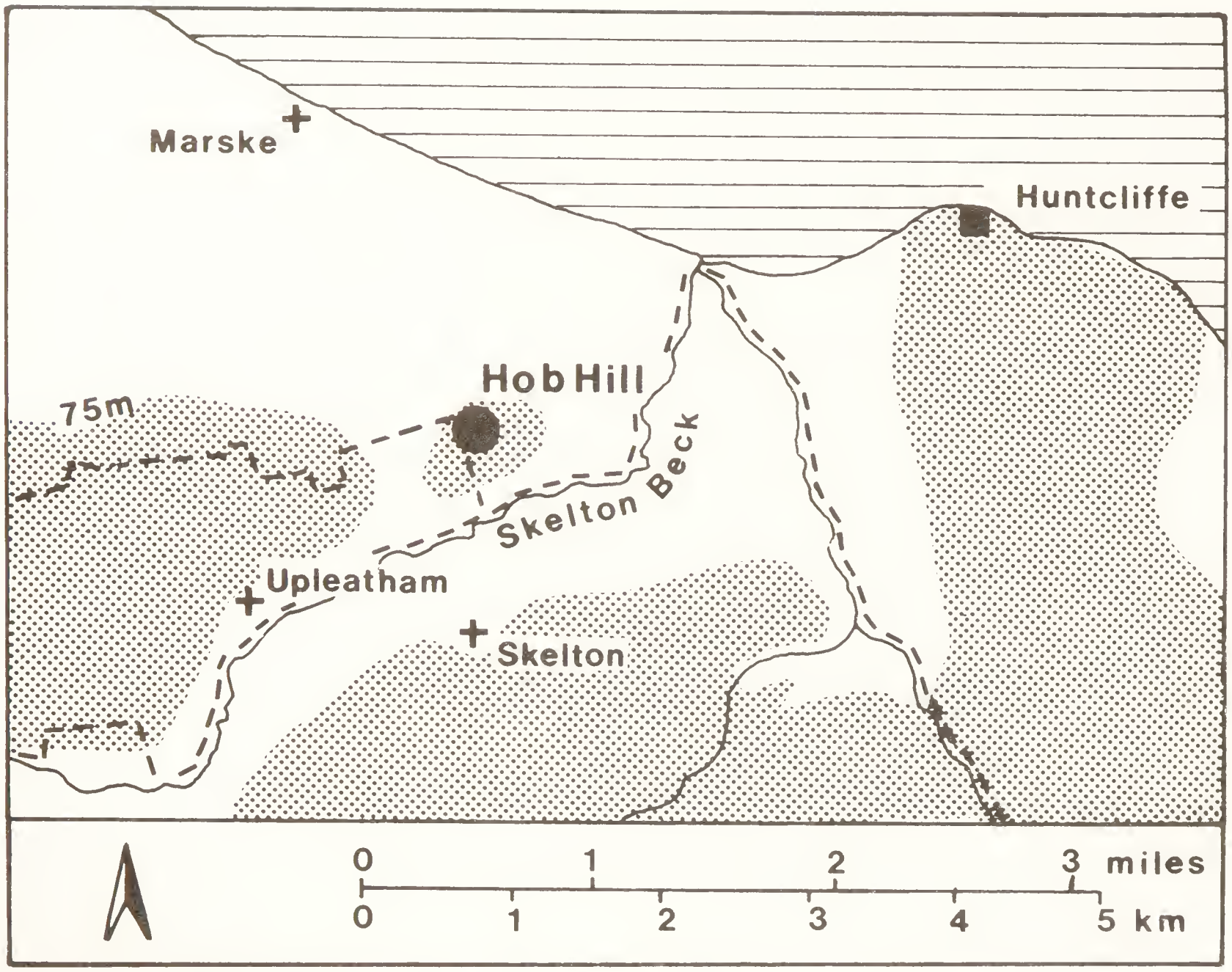

Fig. 9 Hob Hill in relation to local medieval church sites and their parishes.

Iron (Fig. 4)

17 Francisca; length 192mm.
18 Spearheand; type C2.[79] Leaf-shaped blade of lentoid section, point missing; short solid neck, long cleft socket; length 195mm. 1924/40/14.
19 Spear ferrule, conical; length 64mm. 1924/40/15.
20 Spear fragment, cleft socket and short solid neck, blade missing; length 85mm. 1924/40/16.
21 Knife fragment, tag with part of blade; length 49mm. 1924/40/19.
22 Knife, fragment of blade and tang; length 60mm. 1924/40/20.
23 Knife blade; length 89mm. 1924/40/18.
24 Knife blade and tang; length 108mm. 1924/40/16.
25 Semi-circular fragment, possibly a knife chap. Length 17mm; width 23mm. 1924/40/21.
26 Buckle; diameter 19mm. 1924/40/22.
27 Buckle fragment; width 26mm. 1924/40/23.
28 Buckle; diameter 28mm. 1924/40/24.
29 Two strips, overlapping on their lengths and doubled over at one end; total length 9mm, width of each strip 7mm. 1924/40/25-26.
30 Fragment of strip; present length 40mm, width 13mm. 1924/40/27.

Wood

31 Fragment of oak planking (Fig 3.31); maximum length 170mm, thickness 14mm. 1924/40/30.
32 Fragment of oak planking (not illustrated); maximum length 200mm, thickness 19mm, 1924/40/36. Possibly a fragment of the 'coffin' found with burial 47.

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79. Swanton, M. J., *The Spearheads of the Anglo-Saxon Settelement*, (Oxford 1973), p. 78.

Beads (Figs 5-7)

All have Cleveland County Museum accession no. 1924/40/29.

33 Large annular bead of dark blue glass with applied white trail; diameter 35mm, length 10mm
34 Annular bead of opaque blue glass with white marvered spiral; diameter 17mm, length 5mm.
35 Long cylinder bead, yellow glass core with terracotta zones marvered to surface; diameter 10mm; length 14mm.
36 Short cylinder bead of opaque brown glass with two crossed undulating lines in white; diameter 7mm, length 6mm.
37 Globular bead with convex ends in terracotta red glass with two yellow crossed undulating lines; diameter 6mm, length 5mm.
38 Melon bead in translucent green glass; diameter 12mm, length 10mm.
39 Long square-sectioned bead in opaque terracotta red glass; diameter 6mm, length 11mm.
40 Drum bead in opaque green glass; diameter 10mm, length 7mm.
41 Large segmented bead of blue translucent glass consisting of two barrels with adjoining collar; diameter 8mm, length 11mm.
42 Small unbroken two-segmented bead of translucent glass; diameter 4mm, length 7mm.
43 Long square-sectioned cylinder bead of opaque yellow glass with conical perforation; diameter 7mm, length 12mm.
44 Annular bead of translucent blue glass; diameter 9mm, length 4mm.
45 Annular bead of translucent blue glass; diameter 9mm, length 3.5mm.
46 Annular bead of translucent blue glass; diameter 8mm, length 3mm.
47 Annular bead of translucent blue glass; diameter 8mm, length 3mm.
48 Annular bead of translucent blue glass; diameter 10mm, length 4.5mm.
49 Annular bead of translucent blue glass; diameter 9mm, length 4mm.
50 Annular bead of translucent blue glass; diameter 8mm, length 3.5mm.
51 Globular bead of opaque blue glass with conical perforation; diameter 6mm, length 4mm.
52 Annular bead of translucent blue glass; diameter 7.5mm, length 3.5mm.
53 Annular bead of translucent light blue glass; diameter 8mm, length 3mm.
54 Annular bead of translucent blue glass; diameter 8.5mm, length 3mm.
55 Annular bead of translucent blue glass; diameter 9mm, length 3mm.
56 Annular bead of translucent blue glass; diameter 9mm, length 3.5mm.
57 Annular bead of translucent blue glass; diameter 9.5mm, length 3mm.
58 Irregular globular bead of translucent blue glass; diameter 10mm, length 8mm.
59 Globular bead of translucent blue glass; diameter 10mm, length 6mm.
60 Annular bead of translucent blue glass; diameter 11mm, length 5mm.
61 Globular bead of opaque brown glass with conical perforation; diameter 9mm, length 5mm.
62 Globular bead of opaque white glass; diameter 7mm, length 3mm.
63 Annular bead of opaque white glass with conical perforation; diameter 7mm, length 4mm.
64 Barrel bead of opaque white glass with conical perforation; diameter 7mm, length 8mm.
65 Annular bead of opaque yellow glass with conical perforation; diameter 7mm, length 5mm.
66 Annular bead of opaque yellow glass with conical perforation; diameter 7mm, length 5mm.
67 Barrel bead of opaque yellow glass; diameter 8mm, length 9mm.
68 Annular bead of opaque glass; diameter 7.5mm, length 4mm.
69 Globular bead of opaque terracotta red glass; diameter 7mm, length 4.5mm.
70 Globular bead in terracotta red glass; diameter 8mm, length 5.5mm.
71 Annular bead in opaque terracotta red glass; diameter 8mm, length 7mm.
72 Globular bead in translucent turquoise glass; diameter 7mm, length 4mm.
73 Annular bead in opaque light blue glass with conical perforation; diameter 6.5mm, length 4mm.
74 Irregular octagonal disc of jet, convex and polished, conical perforation; diameter 23mm, length 2.5mm.
75 Short convex bioconical bead of rock crystal (6.75); diameter 22mm, length 12mm.
76 Truncated biconical bead of amethyst with ovoid transverse section; diameter 8mm, length 11mm.
77 Annular bead of granular stone; diameter 7.5mm, length 4mm.

78-96 Nineteen amber beads (Fig. 7).

97 Gold-in-glass segmented beads, in three segments. Noted by Hornsby[80] but now lost.
98 Jet beads, noted by Hornsby[81] but now lost.

Pottery (Fig. 8)

99 Accessory vessel, globular with slightly everted rim, buff/grey fabric with many inclusions. Undecorated 1924/40/33.

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80. Hornsby 1912, p.132.
81. Ibid.

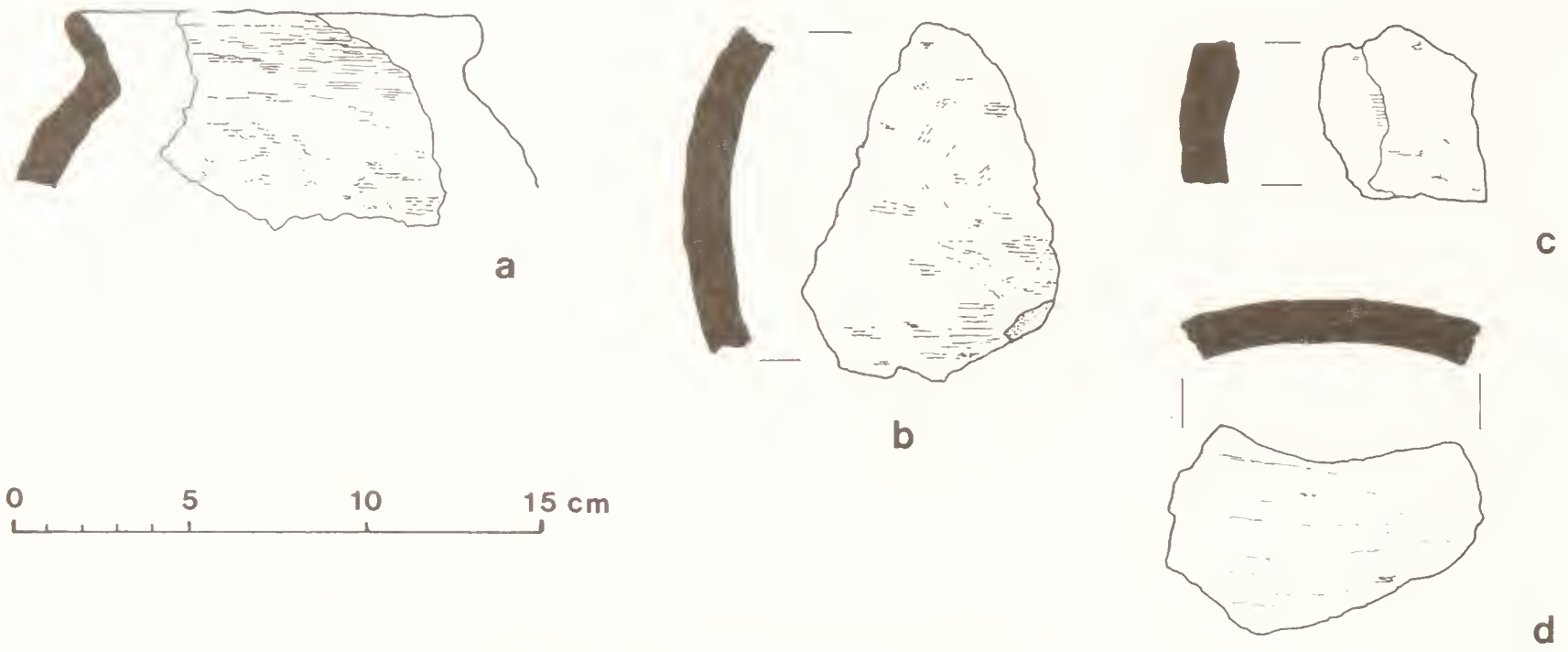

Fig. 10 Pottery from Redcar, scale 1:4.

100 Upper half of a wide-mouthed vessel; upright rim, buff/grey fabric with dark grey core and many inclusions, exterior smoothed. 1912/40/33.

101 Buckelurne. Myres group IV[82] and Myres 1977, no. 152.[83]
Hard black fabric with buff/grey core, heavily gritted with many small inclusions, including quartz. The rim, upper neck and lower body are missing. Decorated with three slightly raised cordons, the central one being stamped and the lowest having a line of chevrons. Below are four bosses, each with two pairs of slightly off-vertical columns of short horizontal slashes, each pair outlined with double incised lines and separated internally with a single line. Between the bosses are five horizontal zones of ornament separated by double incised lines. The upper four zones have short oblique lines, the lowest a row of stamps. Below is a row of small double line chevrons. One stamp is used. 1924/40/35.

102 Wide-mouthed subconical pot. Myres 1977, no. 1035.[85]
Hard black fabric, everted rim and tall upright neck, possibly reconstructed from a different vessel. Lower neck missing. Shoulder decorated with chevron, line of two different stamps demarcated above and below by three incised lines. Under this a single line chevron with alterantive single vertical lines. Keighley Museum.

103 Fragment of pot. Myres 1977, no. 153.[85]
Conical neck, rim and lower body missing. Black fabric with upper part of vessel burnished. Decorated with seven grooves, between the third and fourth slashed collar. Below these grooves the beginning of a four line chevron. 1909/1952/2.

104 Upper part of beaker-shaped pot. Myres 1977, no. 151, Myres 1969, fig 30.[86]
Sharply inverted rim, fabric has black/buff exterior, grey/buff interior and dark grey core, inclusions include quartz and traces of burnt out organic material. Neck decorated with a line of stamps delineated above and below by a single groove; below are two deep *hangende Bogen* outlined with two lines and filled with stamped decoration. One stamp is used. 1909/195/1.

Worked flint (not illustrated)

105 Tanged arrow head, hinged fractured surface. Bronze Age.
1924/40/37.
Found on a spoil heap,[87] later identified by both Mortimer and Greenwell as American.[88]

106 Scraper (fig 9.106). 1924/40/37.

107 Struck core (fig 9.107). 1924/40/37.

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82. Myres 1969, p.45.
83. Myres 1977, fig. 193.
84. Ibid., fig. 147.
85. Ibid., fig. 273.
86. Ibid., fig. 344; Myres 1969, fig. 30.
87. Hornsby 1912, p.132.
88. Letters from J. R. Mortimer to Hornsby dated 12 December 1909; letter from W. Greenwell to Hornsby dated 6 January 1910.

Appendix

Early Anglo-Saxon Pottery from Redcar

Building operations in 1975 at 5 Beverley Road, Redcar (NZ 6178 2366) produced pottery of an early Anglo-Saxon type. This was followed by the limited excavation of a section of ditch under controlled conditions by M. M. Brown for Cleveland County Council.[89] The following pottery was recovered (Fig 10):

a. Sherd with everted rim, hand-made; black fabric with slightly oxidised interior, quartz inclusions; smeared exterior.

b. Body sherd, hand-made; interior and core of a consistent charcoal grey fabric with sandstone inclusions; light red exterior with smoothed surface.

c. Body sherd, hand-made; consistent charcoal grey core with large sandstone and quartz inclusions; light grey interior and pink/grey exterior.

d. Body sherd, of similar fabric to (c) above.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author would like to thank all those who offered their assistance and encouragement in various ways including Prof. R. J. Cramp; Miss M. M. Brown, formerly County Archaeologist for Cleveland; Mrs. M. Guido; Mr. W. Horvie; Keighley Museum; and the Hornsby family.

89. Thorp, F., 'The Yorkshire Archaeological Register: 1975', *Y.A.J.* 48 (1976), p.6.

SOME NOTES ON THE PRE-NORMAN HISTORY OF DONCASTER

By M. S. PARKER

During research on South Yorkshire in the Anglo-Saxon period, my attention was drawn to the early history of Doncaster by a number of historical references which, though available in published sources, seem never to have been assembled and discussed before. Perhaps this should not be considered surprising, for in advance of the publication, currently under way, of the results of the archaeological campaign there in the 1960s and early 1970s, the history and archaeology of one of northern England's major historic towns has aroused little academic interest.

The site of the Roman forts south-east of the river Don is well known, but little work has been done near the *vicus* or extramural civilian settlement, which probably lay further south, between the modern market place and High Street (Fig. 1).[1] Doncaster seems to have been quite an important market centre in the later Roman period. Romano-British internal trade and transport are best evidenced by bulk products such as pottery which was carried on the river systems of the Humber basin. Dales ware, probably produced in the Scunthorpe district, was apparently shipped to Doncaster along the Trent and the Old Don. From there it seems to have been marketed, producing a characteristic secondary distribution pattern around the market centre. The products of the Rossington kilns south of the town seem to have been intended for export to the military of the northern frontier.[2]

The reason for Doncaster's importance must have been its position at the highest point on the river Don navigable to coastal commercial traffic, and at a major road crossing.[3] Certain Roman settlements, for example near Torksey on the Trent and at Broomfleet on the Ouse, seem to have been industrial in character and engaged in the river trade.[4] Doncaster may have benefited further from its position on this river system, for it has been suggested that it could have become a local capital administering an area centred in the Humber basin.[5]

The fort seems to have been re-occupied in the late third or early fourth century, after a period of neglect, and at this time it was defended with a stone wall. The mention of Doncaster as *Danum* in the Antonine Itinerary may belong with this phase rather than with the earlier use of the site. It is suggested that the *vicus* may also have been walled in

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1. J. R. Magilton, *The Doncaster District, an Archaeological Survey* (Doncaster, 1977) p.34 under *vicus*.
2. N. Loughlin, 'Dales Ware, a contribution to the study of Roman coarse pottery' in D. P. S. Peacocks ed., *Pottery and Early Commerce, Characterisation and Trade in Roman and later Ceramics* (London, 1977) pp.119–20, maps pp. 109, 111, cf. J. B. Whitwell, *The Coritani, Some Aspects of the Iron Age Tribe and Roman Civitas* (Brit Archaeol Rep 99, Oxford, 1982) p.117, D. Hey, *The Making of South Yorkshire* (Ashbourne, 1979) p.14. Similar distribution of South Yorkshire pottery, P. C. Buckland, J. R. Magilton and M. J. Dolby, 'The Roman pottery industry of South Yorkshire, a review' *Britannia* XI (1980) p.163; Rossington, see D. F. Williams. 'The Romano-British black-burnished industry, an essay in characterization by heavy mineral analysis' in Peacock ed. (1977, n.2, above) p.194. *Figures in brackets after the date of publication refer to the note in which a full reference will be found.
3. Hey (1979, n.2) p.14.
4. B. N. Eagles, *The Anglo-Saxon Settlement of Humberside* (Brit Archaeol Rep 68, vols. Oxford, 1979) i, 154–5, 161, cf Whitwell (1982, n.2) pp.67-8, N. Loughlin and K. Miller, *A Survey of Archaeological Sites in Humberside* (Hull, 1979) p.40.
5. Whitwell (1982, n.2) p.117.

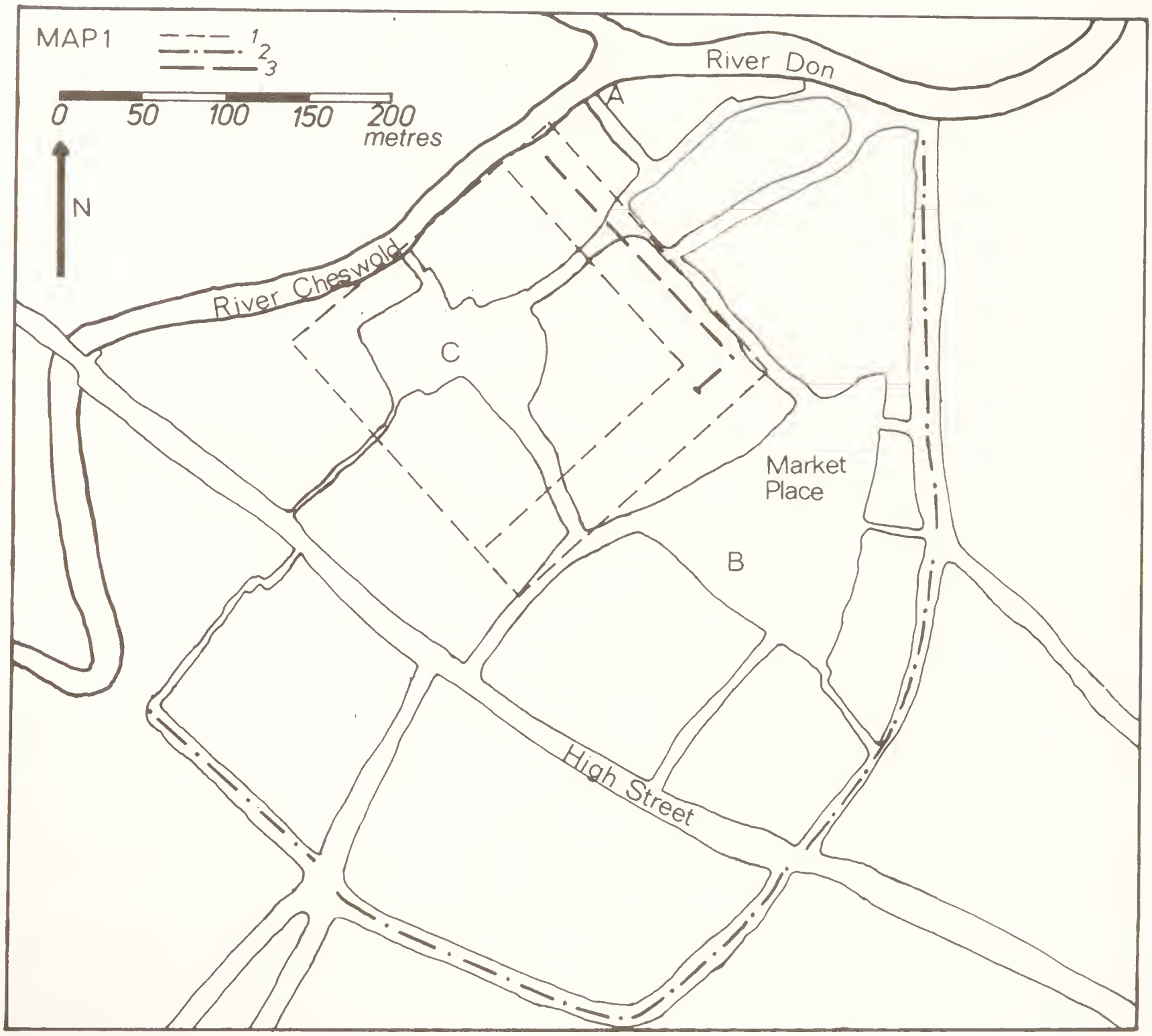

Fig. 1 Roman and Medieval Doncaster
- A The Common Staithe
- B St. Mary's Church
- C Castle/St. Georges Church
- 1 Approximate line of Roman fort ditches
- 2 Ditto, medieval town ditch
- 3 Ditto, Anglo-Scandinavian *burh* ditch

N.B. the river Cheswold is an arm of the Don, and may represent its Roman and early medieval course. The *burh* ditch turns southwestwards and then stops (shown as a T).

Based on Townshead's map of Doncaster (late eighteenth-century) Ordnance Survey first edition 6in. (1854) and Magilton (1977).

the late Roman period.[6] Doncaster was thus a defended site at the centre of an area of intense agricultural exploitation including the Magnesian Limestone belt, the planned landscapes south-east of the town and in a large area of Nottinghamshire, and the Isle of

6. Magilton (1977, n.1) p.34 under *fort* and *vicus,* Antonine Itinerary v. A. L. F. Rivet and C. C. Smith, *The Place-Names of Roman Britain* (London, 1979) pp.151-3 and 392-30.

Axholme, where evidence for Romano-British settlement is now becoming more plentiful.[7]

As the end of the Roman occupation is approached, the evidence becomes at the same time less plentiful and harder to understand. In the later fourth century, the area of the Doncaster fort was occupied by timber buildings arranged without any overall plan and spreading up to its walls. The roads were neglected and deposits of black silt with bone and pottery began to build up. Coin evidence ends around 390 AD. After the middle of the fourth century the pottery industries east and south of the town ceased to function, and at a similar date the planned landscapes of the Bunter Sandstone went out of use. All this decline seems to have been complete by the end of the Roman period and has not been explained, though if the Bunter Sandstone land were 'marginal' and its use stimulated by the wealth of the Trent and lower Don trade area, or equally if it had been a government project, then the decline of the monetary economy would seem a likely cause.[8]

Soon after the end of the Roman period markets generally seem to have ceased to function in Britain, and towns as such no longer existed, though some of them continued as important settlements through being residences of Anglo-Saxon or native British kings or other leaders. From the seventh century onwards urban settlements re-appeared though they were not numerous until the later Anglo-Saxon period.[9]

In the West Riding of Yorkshire we are faced with two centuries of a 'British Dark Age' between the Roman and historical Anglo-Saxon eras.[10] The earliest archaeological evidence for English South Yorkshire has come from Doncaster itself, but is very slight. The archaeology of the entire Anglo-Saxon period of the areas west of the Vale of York and lower Trent valley is notoriously obscure, largely because the pottery of the period appears to be very rare or absent in these areas. However, useful historical references to Doncaster do exist, and suggest its re-emergence as a town at the latest by the early tenth century, despite the fact that it has not previously been considered as an Anglo-Saxon urban centre. There are four pre-Norman historical references to Doncaster, three of them by name.

The first is the so called *Historia Brittonum,* attributed to Nennius, a ninth century compilation mainly relating to the period of the Anglo-Saxon invasions, and of a variety of origins.[11] The context within Nennius' work is a list of names of 'the twenty-eight cities in Britain'.[12] Some of the ancestors of these names are recorded in sources relating to Roman Britain, but here they are given in forms appropriate to the Old Welsh

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7. cf. Whitwell (1982, n.2) pp. 59 and 113, D. N. Riley 'An early system of land division in South Yorkshire and North Nottinghamshire' in H. C. Bowen and P. J. Fowler edd., *Early Land Allotment* (Brit Archaeol Rep 48, Oxford, 1978) pp.103-114, D. N. Riley, *Early Landscape from the Air, Studies of Cropmarks in South Yorkshire and North Nottinghamshire* (Sheffield, 1980), H. G. Ramm, 'Native settlements east of the Pennines', in K. Branigan ed. *Rome and the Brigantes* (Sheffield, 1980) p.32 map, M. L. Faull, 'The Roman period', in M. L. Faull and S.A. Moorhouse, *West Yorkshire, an Archaeological Survey* (Wakefield, 1981) i, 152 and 163-8 (list).
8. Coins, Magilton (1977, n.1) 34, under *fort,* potteries, Buckland, Magilton and Dolby (1980, n.2) pp.146-7, 162-3, 164 cf. Magilton (1977, n.1) pp.7, 14-15, 18, 63, landscapes, Riley (1980, n.7) pp.70-1.
9. For Roman and Anglo-Saxon towns cf. J. S. Wacher, *The Towns of Roman Britain* (2nd edn, London, 1976) pp.411-22 and M. Biddle 'Towns' in D. Wilson ed., *The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England* (London, 1976) pp.99-150.
10. M. L. Faull, 'The post-Roman period', in Faull and Moorhouse edd. (1981, n.7) i, 171 ff., Hey (1979, n.2) p.20.
11. cf. K. Jackson, 'On the northern British sections in Nennius' in N. K. Chadwick et al., *Celt and Saxon, Studies in the Early British Border* (Cambridge, 1963) pp.20-62.
12. Nennius paragraph 66a in J. R. Morris ed., *Nennius, British History and the Welsh Annals* (History from the Sources, London, 1980) pp.40 and 80, preferable edition T. Mommsen ed., 'Historia Brittonum cum Additamenta Nenii' in *Monumenta Germaniae Historia, Auctorum Antiquissimum,* Tomus XIII, Chronicorum Minorum Saec. IV, V, VI, VII, Vol 3 (Berlin, 1898) pp.210-2, with textural variants.

language of the ninth century. Thus *Cair Daun* for Doncaster is the direct descendant of the Celtic form of *Danum*.[13] This indicates that the memory of these names had been preserved to some degree in an oral rather than a written source, and no Celtic language can have been spoken near to some of them for two or three hundred years. The figure twenty-eight is derived by Nennius or his source from Gildas, the sixth-century Welsh author, and Bede, neither of whom gives a list.[14] Why Doncaster, which originated as a fort, should have been included is uncertain, but if, as seems likely, its *vicus* was large and even walled,[15] the place may have continued to be of some significance after the last time that the fort went out of commission. The antiquity of the traditions behind the list is suggested by the fact that many of the names in it were of places which were of little or no importance by the time that Nennius wrote, and some of them are so obscure that they have never been identified.[16] The inclusion of Doncaster suggests that it should be added to Faull's list of early royal sites in Yorkshire.[17]

The archaeological evidence for post-Roman Doncaster is very slight. An example of the late Roman 'chip-carved' belt buckles was found in the latest occupation layers of the Roman fort. These used to be adduced as evidence for the presence of Germanic mercenaries. However this connection has now been rejected, along with Romano-Saxon pottery and some early dates proposed for genuinely Anglo-Saxon material, and there is now very little support for the presence of archaeologically recognisable Germans in Britain before the early fifth century.[18] Another piece of questionable evidence for Doncaster is a cremation burial with a shield boss acting as the lid of the late third century cremation vessel which was found in a late Roman cemetery at Newton, to the west of the town. This might, but need not, be the burial of an alien soldier.[19] However, even if it were, it is unlikely that such people would have survived the end of Roman Britain as a recognizable community, particularly since in Doncaster there is at present no evidence for English settlers in the fifth century.

The English had, however, arrived by the later sixth century, since the aceramic late or post-Roman occupation in the fort near St. George's church was succeeded by a structure with a hearth and a decorated sixth-century Anglian sherd. A plain sherd of similar date was found in the same area, unassociated with a structure. Other early finds are a Byzantine bronze *follis* of Anastasius (491-518) which may be a medieval or modern loss and so irrelevant, and a banded green glass bead.[20]

The second historical mention of Doncaster is found in Symeon of Durham's *Historia*

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13. A. H. Smith, *The Place-Names of the West Riding of Yorkshire* (English Place-Name Society vols 30-38, Cambridge, 1961-3) i, 21, Rivet and Smith (1979, n.6) p.329.
14. Gildas, *De Excidio Britonum* 3, in M. Winterbottom ed. *Gildas, The Ruin of Britain and Other Works,* (History from the Sources, London, 1978) pp. 16 and 90, hence Bede i, 1, in B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors edd., *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (Oxford, 1969) pp. 16 and 17.
15. Walls, Magilton (1977, n.1), p.34.
16. Nos. 3, 6, 8, 9, 11, 14, 15, 26, 27 in the list in Morris ed. (1980, n.12) p.80 are unidentified or uncertain.
17. M. Faull, British Survival in Anglo-Saxon Yorkshire (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Leeds, 1979), ii, 467.
18. For these matters see Eagles (1979, n.4) i, 55-7, 59-67, Faull (1979, n.17) i. 108-9, 141, ii, 467, Whitwell (1982, n.2) pp. 153-8, Biddle (1976, n.9) p.105, J. Gillam, 'Romano-Saxon pottery, an alternative interpretation' in P. J. Casey ed., *The End of Roman Britain* (Brit Archaeol Rep 71, Oxford, 1979), D. A. Welsby, *The Roman Military Defense of the British Provinces in its Later Phases* (Brit Archaeol Rep 101, Oxford, 1982) pp.160-82, W. I. Roberts, *Romano-Saxon Pottery* (Brit Archaeol Rep 106, Oxford, 1982, pp.158-67.
19. Doncaster Museum Index s.n. Newton, Magilton (1977, n.1), p.83 s.n. Warmsworth item 5, P. C. Buckland, 'A first century shield from Doncaster, Yorkshire', *Britannia* IX (1978) p.266.
20. P. C. Buckland and M. J. Dolby, 'Doncaster', *Curr. Archaeol.* 33 (1972) p.276, Faull (1979, n.17) i, 141, Welsby (1982, n.18) 122-3, Magilton (1977, n.1) 34, 87, Doncaster Museum Index and ex. inf. M. J. Dolby. The emphasis in M. L. Faull, 'Place-Names and Past Landscape', *J. Engl. Place-Name Soc.* 11 (1978-9) pp.33-4 is different.

Regum. This is a collection of sources of various ages assembled in the twelfth century but with its constituent parts left almost exactly as they were found. The oldest of these parts is a chronicle of mainly Northumbrian events from 732 to 802 AD.[21] Independent versions of the annals preserved by Symeon exist in a text called the *Historia Post Bedam* and in Roger of Howden's chronicle. Through variously altered, the early chronicle is an original record of contemporary authority from about 750.[22]

Doncaster is mentioned in the entry for 764 AD:-

". . . in the same year many towns (urbes), monasteries and villages (villae) throughout various districts (loca) and indeed kingdoms, were suddenly devastated by fire, for example Stretburg, Venta civitas, Homwic, Londonia civitas, Eboraca civitas, Donacester, and it troubled many other places in that region, so that what is written might be fulfilled — 'the earth will be moved'".[23]

Although Doncaster finds itself in exalted company with Strasbourg, Winchester, Southampton, London and York as a victim of the year of fires, the chronicler was not including an uninhabited ruin or a collection of huts huddling behind grass grown Roman walls, but a functioning place of some importance, even if we have no evidence to define it as a town in the strict economic, i.e. commercial, sense. Doncaster was still the highest navigable point on the Don and the lowest easy ford (cf. Fig. 2). It was probably these facts which determined the nature of the final two references.

Anglo-Saxon Doncaster is last mentioned by name in the will of Wulfric Spott (1002-4 AD), when it was the centre of an estate which is not otherwise described. The will records that Wulfric bequeathed his Doncaster property to a certain Morcar, who is also mentioned in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle under 1015:- "In this year there was a great council at Oxford, and it was there that Ealdorman Eadric betrayed Siferth and Morcar, the chief thegns belonging to the Seven Boroughs, by enticing them into his chamber, where they were basely done to death. The king [Æthelred the 'Unready'] then confiscated all their property, and ordered Siferth's widow to be seized and brought to Malmesbury. Then after a short while, Prince Edmund came and abducted the woman against the king's will, and made her his wife. Then before the nativity of St. Mary [8 September], the prince proceeded from the west and went north to the Five Boroughs, and thereupon seized all the property of Siferth and Morcar and all the people submitted to him".[24]

The 'Five Boroughs' were a group of north-east midland towns fortified by the Danes. They are mentioned a few times in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and in sources dependent on it, and we gather that they were Derby, Nottingham, Leicester, Stamford and Lincoln. These boroughs (*burh* is the ancestor of the word 'borough' but in this context denoted a large fort or a fortified town) are supposed to have been centres for the Danish armies of the period of settlement, from the late ninth century onwards, although they

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21. T. Arnold ed. *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia* (2 vols, Rolls Series 75, London, 1882-5) ii, pp. x-xxxiv, P. Hunter Blair 'Some observations on the 'Historia Regum' attributed to Symeon of Durham' on Chadwick et al (1963, n.11) pp.86-99.
22. Howden, W. Stubbs ed., *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Hovedene* (2 vols, Rolls Series 51, London, 1868), s.a. 764, discussions xxvi-xxxii, M. Lapidge 'Byrhtferth of Ramsey and the early section of the Historia Regum attributed to Symeon of Durham' *Anglo-Saxon England* 10 (1981), 97-122, C. R. Hart, 'Byrhtferth's Northumbrian Chronicle', *Engl. Hist. Rev.* XCVII (1982) 558-82. The editor of a tenth century version is now identified as Byrhtferth, Abbot of Ramsey.
23. T. Arnold ed. (1882-5, n.21) ii, 42, translation D. Whitelock, *English Historical Documents vol. 1* (2nd edn., London, 1979) p.226.
24. Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (henceforward ASC) E. s.a. 1015, Whitelock (1979, n.23) p.247. The identity of the Morcar in the will with the thegn of 1015 was first noted in D. Whitelock ed., *Anglo-Saxon Wills* (Cambridge, 1930) p.155, cf. also C.R. Hart, *The North Derbyshire Archaeological Survey* (Chesterfield, 1981) p.115 with reference to Wulfric Spott's estates in northern Derbyshire.

Fig. 2 The location and context of early Doncaster
1 Anglian/Danish town/*burh*
2 Domesday boroughs
3 Medieval riverside trading and boatmen's settlement

are not mentioned with this title until the mid tenth.[25] Apart from the Chronicle references we are almost entirely ignorant of the Five Boroughs and their organisation. It is possible that the counties of Leicester, Nottingham and Derby came into being as the areas dependent on the armies based at those places.

Apart from a Latin rendering of this passage in Florence of Worcester's chronicle (from which Symeon of Durham and other medieval chroniclers borrowed it), there is no other

25. e.g. ASC s.a. 942, Whitelock (1979, n.23) p.221.

mention of the *Seven* Boroughs in which Morcar possessed property.[26] It is assumed that the seven were the five plus two more unnamed places, rather than seven entirely separate locations. Stenton suggested that one was Torksey (a Domesday 'borough', though in Domesday studies the word does not have the same meaning) and the other 'presumably York'.[27] But since we suspect that Doncaster was something of a town in the eighth century, and given that there is a concentration of Danish place-names in its vicinity,[28] and that the site was refortified in the manner characteristic of other *burh* sites at the right period (below), inspiring the use of the word *burh* on that ground alone,[29] and that Morcar, who held land in these 'Seven Boroughs' at the time of his death, had inherited the Doncaster estate of Wulfric Spott just ten years before, we would be perverse not to accept that Doncaster was part of the property involved in this story, and one of the Seven Boroughs mentioned in it.

Further proof is provided by a less reliiable reference, the second of two mentions of Doncaster in the French verse chronicle of the Yorkshireman Peter Langtoft (composed *c.* 1307), which draws on late and legendary material.[30] There seems to be local information in his slightly garbled account of 1014–16. He supposes that Eadric Streona, Earl of Mercia, the treacherous advisor to Ætheldred the 'Unready', who is mentioned in the Chronicle passage (above), had privately arranged the deaths of Siferth and Morcar. He says that Siferth's wife was captured at Manchester, whereas the Chronicle only tells us that she was brought to king Æthelred. His next statement, that Edmund Ironside then expelled Earl Eadrich from the lands of the 'two brothers', corresponds to the Chronicle mention of Edmund's move to the territory of the Five Boroughs and seizure of Siferth's and Morcar's lands. Next he mentions Æthelred's illness. According to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle Cnut arrived in England at this time, and Edmund, who was still in the north, gathered forces to join with Eadric in resisting him, but they soon divided. Eadric with forty ships went over to Cnut. Cnut's forces harried in the north in 1016; before that he had been in the south and midlands.[31] Langtoft telescopes this information, placing Cnut's arrival later so as to make the infamous Earl Eadric's defection immediate and more treacherous: Eadric invites Cnut, who arrives as his ally.

"Cnut and Earl Eadric have taken by treason Buckingham and Bedford, the town of Huntingdon, Lincoln and Nottingham, the tower of Northampton, they go from Doncaster as far as Alverton".[32]

If this is right and the two narratives may be combined, Doncaster must have remained in the hands of Edmund and his supporters until 1016, when it passed to Cnut during the campaign mentioined in the Chronicle. It is interesting that there is a mention of Doncaster in a late version of the story which, as I have argued, contains a disguised reference to the town. However, Langtoft's muddled account was written almost three centuries after the date to which it refers and could not be relied on alone.[33]

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26. Thorpe B. ed., *Florence of Worcester's Chronicon ex Chronicis (&c)* (English Historical Society Publications 13, London, 1848-9) i, 170, Symeon, *Historia Regum* 126, Arnold ed. (1882-5, n.21) ii, 147.
27. F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England* (3rd edn, Oxford, 1971) p.388 n.2.
28. Smith (1961-3, n.13) vii, 47 and 54. According to Smith the distribution of Scandinavian place-names near Doncaster suggests colonisation from Danish Mercia, rather than from Northumbria.
29. Magilton (1977, n.1) 35, T. G. Hassal, 'Urban archaeology in England, 1975', in M. W. Barley ed., *European Towns, their Archaeology and Early History* (London, 1977) p.11.
30. T. Wright ed. *The Chronicle of Pierre de Langtoft* (Rolls Series 47, 2 vols., London, 1866–8) i, 358-365. Langtoft has no heading for 1015, so events of that year appears as if s.a. 1014.
31. ASC s.a. 1015, 1016, Whitelock (1979, n.23) p.248.
32. Wright ed. (1866-8, n.30) pp. 364, 365. Alverton might be Northallerton.
33. In Langtoft's chronicle Cnut's northern campaign is the last item mentioned s.a. 1014 (i.e. 1015), and 1016 begins immediately thereafter, Wright ed. (1866-8, n.30) pp. 364-5. J. Hunter *South Yorkshire* (2 vols., London, 1828-31) i, 6-7 quotes from this story in the English translation of Robert de Brunne.

On evidence similar to that which identifies one of the 'Seven Boroughs' as Doncaster, the seventh, or another one of the seven, may have been Manchester. This place is a known fort site constructed under West Saxon authority in 919. In Langtoft's story it is mentioned as the place where Siferth's wife was captured. Wulfric Spott also owned property 'between Ribble and Mersey', which he bequeathed to Ælfhelm, earl of Southern Northumbria, and this may well have included Manchester. This evidence is not as strong as that for Doncaster, but it makes the identification very probable. If Doncaster and Manchester were the two additional boroughs making the total of seven, their territories may have extended across the entire border region between Northumbria and Mercia. The concept of five boroughs might only have arisen after the territories of Doncaster and Manchester had been incorporated, or re-incorporated, into Northumbria.[34]

The archaeological evidence referred to above for a *burh* at Doncaster is the location in two excavations of a double ditch closely resembling the ditches of *burh* sites of this period elsewhere. Its fill contained only a few sherds of grass-tempered pottery. The area enclosed by the ditch is not known. Unfortunately there is no other excavated evidence for the town at this period. The only chance find is once again a doubtfully relevant Byzantine bronze *follis* which may have been lost at a much later date, this one minted in the late tenth or early eleventh century.[35]

Possibly Doncaster's function as a fortified site was associated with a line of forts in the Dearne and middle Don valleys known from place-name evidence — it lies on their eastern flank. The first elements of these place-names (Conisbrough, Sprotbrough, Mexborough, Barnburgh, Worsborough, Stainborough, Kexborough) are both English and Scandinavian, which suggests an early tenth century date; and their locations (as settlements and as townships) strongly suggest the southern boundary of a northern power (ie. Northumbria), not the northern boundary of a midland or southern one (Fig. 4). Their second element is *burh,* here 'fortified place'.[36]

After 1015-16 Doncaster's history sinks into obscurity. Conventional evidence for a town there, such as Domesday borough or coins from a late Anglo-Saxon mint, is entirely lacking. However a possible explanation for this lies in the nearby Domesday borough of Dadsley (Tickhill) (cf. Fig. 2). In 1086 there were 31 burgesses (a type of tenant whose presence implies a town) at Dadsley.[37] After 1086 this place was represented by Tickhill, while Dadsley Well Farm in Tickhill township is all that remains of the former name. Very likely the town had been founded at Tickhill not long before 1066 and was listed under the name of Dadsley because it was not yet fully incorporated into the tenurial and territorial system. Alternatively the site could have been moved from Dadsley to near Tickhill castle at some time between 1086 and the early twelfth century.[38]

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34. Manchester, ASC s.a. 919, Whitelock (1979) n.23 p.198. Langtoft, Wright ed. (1866–8, n.30) i, 362 and 363.
35. Doncaster Museum Index, L. A. S. Butler, 'The Yorkshire Archaeological Register for 1970', *Y.A.J.* 43 (1971) p.194, D. M. Wilson and S. A. Moorhouse, 'Medieval Britain in 1970', *Med. Arch.* 15 (1971) p.135, Buckland and Dolby (1972, n.20) p.276, S. A. Moorhouse, 'The Yorkshire Archaeological Register 1972' *Y.A.J.* 45 (1973) p.203, Magilton (1977, n.1) p.87 and ex inf. M. J. Dolby.
36. Magilton (1977, n.1)p.87, Smith (1961-3, n.13), vii, 46 n.2 (Barnburgh omitted), A Goodall, *The Place-Names of South-West Yorkshire* (Cambridge, 1914) p.226 s.n. Sprotborough (but dating wrong), M. Wood, 'Brunanburh revisited', *Sagabook* (1980), 207-10; the individual refs in Smith are i, 64, 77, 80, 125, 292, 312, 318. Masborough i, 186–7 may have been on the border itself or on the other side.
37. R. H. Skaife, 'Domesday Book for Yorkshire', 2 parts, *Y.A.J.* 13 (1895) and 14 (1897-8); Tickhill, ii (i.e. vol 4), 37.
38. Magilton (1977, n.1) pp. 75, 80, M. W. Beresford, *New Towns of the Middle Ages* (London 1967) p.67, J. R. Magilton, 'Tickhill, the Topography of the Medieval Town' *Trans Hunter Archaeol Soc* 10 pt. 5 (1979) pp. 344, 346, cf. G. T. Davies 'The Origins of the Parishes of South Yorkshire', *South Yorkshire Historian* 4 (1980) p.5. para. d.

There are interesting parallels with the West Riding's other Domesday borough at Tanshelf, later represented by Pontefract, though there is better evidence both for the pre-Norman existence of this town and for an early urban settlement on the Tanshelf site.[39] Tickhill had a poor site for trade in comparison with Doncaster and even with Pontefract, and has produced no early archaeological evidence at all. Since the Doncaster *burh* was so near (in terms of the density of towns in the eleventh century north), it is tempting to propose that at some date between 1015 and 1066 Doncaster was in some sense abolished and demilitarised, probably soon after 1016 as a result of the Chronicle events, and that its urban functions were deliberately transferred to Tickhill. The absence of a mint at a place as important as the historical evidence suggests that Doncaster was may simply result from the fact that the town lay within late Anglo-Saxon Northumbria. The West Saxon kings had maintained a system with many mints in their territories but in Scandinavian Northumbria minting was entirely centralised at York. This arrangement continued after the annexation of Northumbria to the united English kingdom.[40]

The Domesday survey throws little light on Doncaster's urban history. Hunter rightly remarked that it appears less important in Domesday Book than either before or since.[41] Although Wulfric Spott's will mentions the estate '*aet Doneceastre*' in 1002-4, by 1066 there were three separate holdings in Doncaster with a number of attached properties which were intermingled with those of the honour of Conisbrough. Oddly however, Doncaster is listed not as the head but as a component in the most important holdings, one centred at Wheatley, the other at Hexthorpe (cf Fig. 3).[42] A church and a priest are listed under the Hexthorpe portion, as are two mills. The church is the only one in the later Deanery of Doncaster to have its property seperately assessed. These assets were clearly in Doncaster, not Hexthorpe, which heads the estate probably because it was the local residence of the lord. There are parallels for this situation — in 1086 Chesterfield (Derbyshire), which was subsequently to develop into a town, was listed as an appendage of Newbold, a neighbouring hamlet. At an earlier date the site of the Roman fort at Templeborough had been abandoned and a local centre had grown up at Rotherham, a process of settlement shift which is well evidenced elsewhere, so possibly the situation at Chesterfield and Doncaster in 1086 represented an incipient settlement shift that failed because the places were nascent towns.[43] Before 1066 the Hexthorpe portion of Doncaster was in the hands of Tosti, perhaps in his position as Earl of Northumbria.[44] Most of the properties of the Doncaster estates seem to have been part of the Doncaster parish in early times. The holding at Rossington, for example, remained in Doncaster parish until the thirteenth century, and Loversall remained so until the

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39. D. J. H. Michelmore, 'The Administrative and Tenurial Framework — Township Gazeteer', in Faull and Moorhouse edd. (1981, nn. 10, 7) i, 180, 188, 190, S. E. Rigold, 'The Sutton Hoo coins in the light of the contemporary background of coinage in England' in R. Bruce-Mitford ed., *The Sutton Hoo Ship Burial vol. 1* (London, 1975) p.671 no. 76.
40. cf. D. Hill, *An Atlas of Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 1981) maps 213-6 p. 127. 217, p. 128, 218-21 p. 129, 222, p. 130.
41. Hunter (1828-31, n.33) i, 8.
42. Whitelock (1930, n.24) pp. 48, 49, Skaife (1895-8, n.37), i, 523, 526, ii, 50-1, 351, 352.
43. Doncaster Church, A. H. Thompson and C. T. Clay (edd.), *Fasti Parochiales, Notes on the Advowsons and pre-Reformation Incumbents of the Deanery of Doncaster* (2 parts, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series vols 85 and 107, 1933-43) i, 87. There is no specific evidence to suggest that the priest and five bordars listed under 'Hexthorpe' (Doncaster) church were the remnants of a secular community ploughing the remaining lands of a decayed monastic establishment, but it is an interesting possibility. Rotherham and settlement shifts, Skaife (1895-8, n.37) i, 523, Hey (1979, n.2) pp. 14, 21, 52, cf. Biddle (1976, n.9) p.110.
44. Tosti, see Hunter (1828-31, n.33) i, 8.

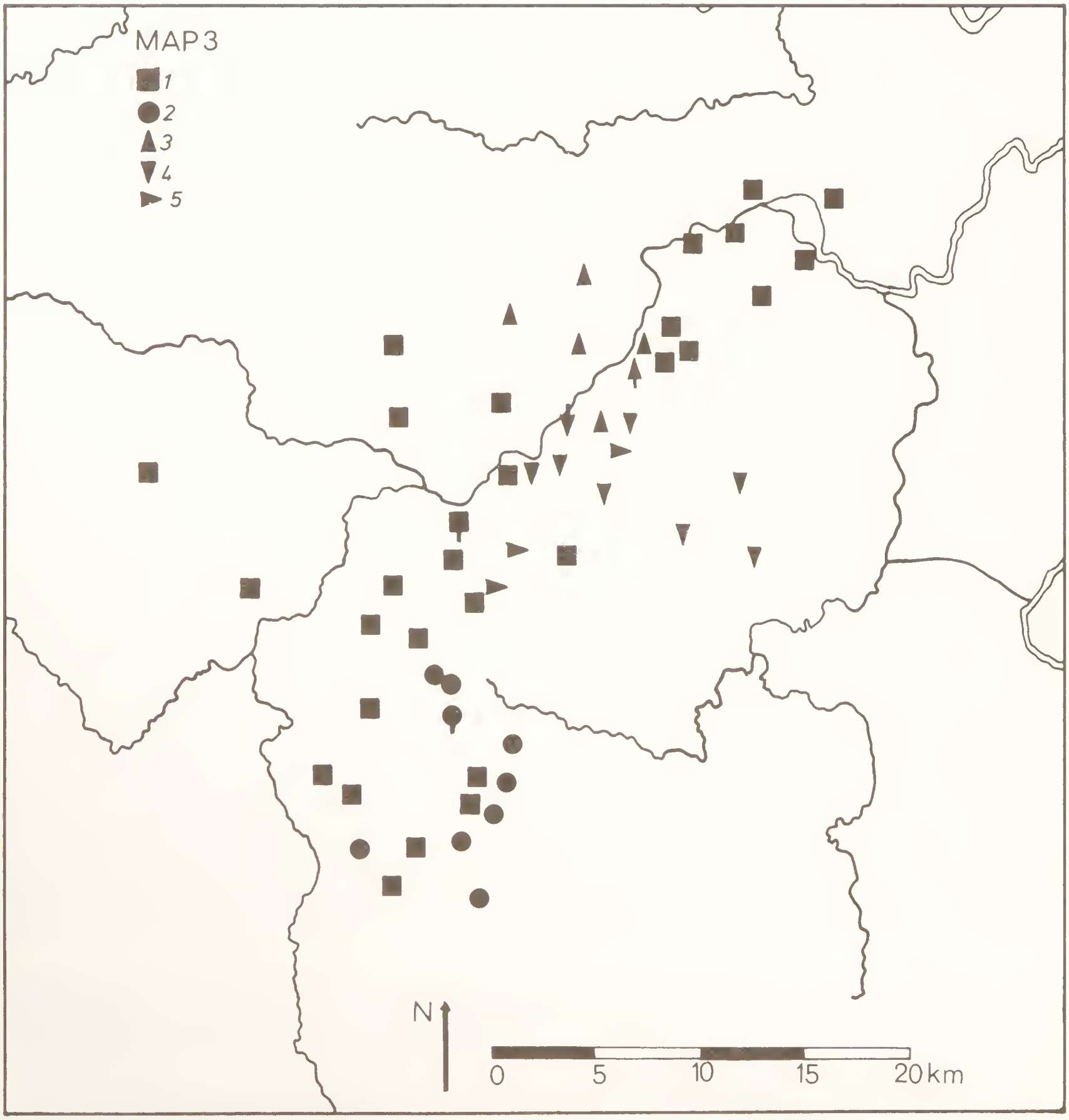

Fig. 3 The probable Yorkshire estates of Wulfric Spott, 1002-4 A.D., as recorded in 1086.
cf. Davies in South Yorkshire Historian (1980)

1 Property in the soke of Conisbrough
2 Ditto, Laughton en le Morthen
3 Ditto, Wheatley (Doncaster)
4 Ditto, Hexthorpe (Doncaster)
5 'Edlington, Braithwell and Doncaster'

Tailed symbols: soke centre. NB: the symbols are placed within the areas of the vills named in Domesday Book. it should not be assumed that the settlements bearing these names existed on their later sites in 1086.

nineteenth century.[45] Doncaster had two medieval churches. St. Mary's was in the market place (Fig. 1) It was the original church, and very likely the market started as an extension to the churchyard. However, no urban institutions are recorded in Domesday Book (unless the mention of 40 sokemen in Domesday Book conceals burgesses) or until the twelfth century. The second church, St. George's, was apparently built from scratch on the site of the Norman motte after its removal, probably succeeding a twelfth century castle chapel.[46] Doncaster must therefore be deleted from the list of Roman forts containing early churches suggestive of continuity of settlement from the Roman period.[47] It is not clear if the location at St. Mary's church was related to that of the Roman civil settlement.

The existence of only one church and one parish is no objection to the theory that an important town had existed at a given place. Grantham in Lincolnshire, though larger in 1086 than Hertford or Hereford with their many churches, had only one church, and Wallingford, Colchester, Hull and Carlisle had only one medieval parish. This may have been due to strong single lordship — eleventh-century Grantham belonged to the Queen.[48] At Doncaster, the influence of Wulfric Spott and his predecessors may be suspected.

From the relationship between the border dividing the deaneries of Doncaster and Retford and the late eleventh-century boundary dividing the wapentake of Strafforth and Tickhill in Yorkshire from that of Bassetlaw in Nottinghamshire, it appears that the Doncaster deanery may be relevant to the town's pre-Norman history. The southern boundary of the deanery followed the river Torne, so that places south of that river, the Yorkshire townships of Auckley, Austerfield and Blaxton, which lay in Nottinghamshire parishes, and Rossington parish, which was entirely in Yorkshire, pertained to the Deanery of Retford. Hunter was the first to suggest that the deanery boundary represented a former county boundary, which had been altered at some date before 1066–86 leaving the deanery line as evidence of the former situation.[49] This would imply that the deanery area had been determined by that date, though in general the evidence for rural deaneries does not extend back beyond the twelfth century. It might be relevant here that some deaneries were based on the jurisdiction of old mother churches. At an early date Doncaster Deanery was often considered two distinct units, in which case only part (perhaps the north-eastern half) would have originated as such a jurisdiction.[50] The evidence relating to Rossington is also interesting in this context, since Rossington was in the Doncaster estate in 1086 (as *Scitelesuuorde)* and was a daughter parish of Doncaster, but was not in the Deanery/mother church area.[51] Rossington must have been acquired by the estate and subjugated to Doncaster church after that date when

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45. Thompson and Clay edd. (1933-43, n.43) i, 87, W. Brown ed., *Yorkshire Fines of the Reign of John* (Surtees Society vol. 94, 1894) pp. 112-3 no. CCXCI (1207). Loversall was a township in Doncaster parish in the Doncaster Townships Book of Tithe Awards and Maps (1816-21), Doncaster Metropolitan Borough Archives ref. Enc. 14, and J. Hunter, 'South Yorkshire, to illustrate the elaborate history of the Deanery of Doncaster by the Rev. Joseph Hunter, (a) manugraph atlas of parish surveys' (Unpublished MS volume, Sheffield City Libraries Local Studies Dept.) plan 1 p.1.
46. Hey (1979, n.2) pp. 52-4, Magilton (1977, n.1) p.34 under *medieval,* Hunter (1828-31, n.33)i, 10. Burgesses are first mentioned in 4 Henry ii (1157-8), J. Hunter ed. *The Great Roll of the Pipe . . . 1155-8* (Record Commission Publications no. 31, London, 1844) p.179.
47. i.e. from Biddle (1976, n.9) pp. 111 and 143 note 100.
48. A. Rogers, 'The origins of Newark, the evidence of local boundaries', *Trans Thoroton Soc Nottinghamshire* 78 (1974), pp. 23-4.
49. Hunter (1828-31, n.33), introduction vol 1 pp. iii and 66 cf. *Taxatio Ecclesisastica Angliae et Walliae, auctoritate Papae Nicholai IV, c. 1291* (Record Commission, London, 1804) pp. 339 pt 2 ff. 66b, 67.
50. F. Barlow, *The English Church, 1000-1066* (2nd ed., London, 1979) pp. 184, 252. cf. A. H. Thompson, *The English Church and its Organisation in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1947) p.66.
51. Skaife (1895-8, n.37) i, 523 and note 45 above.

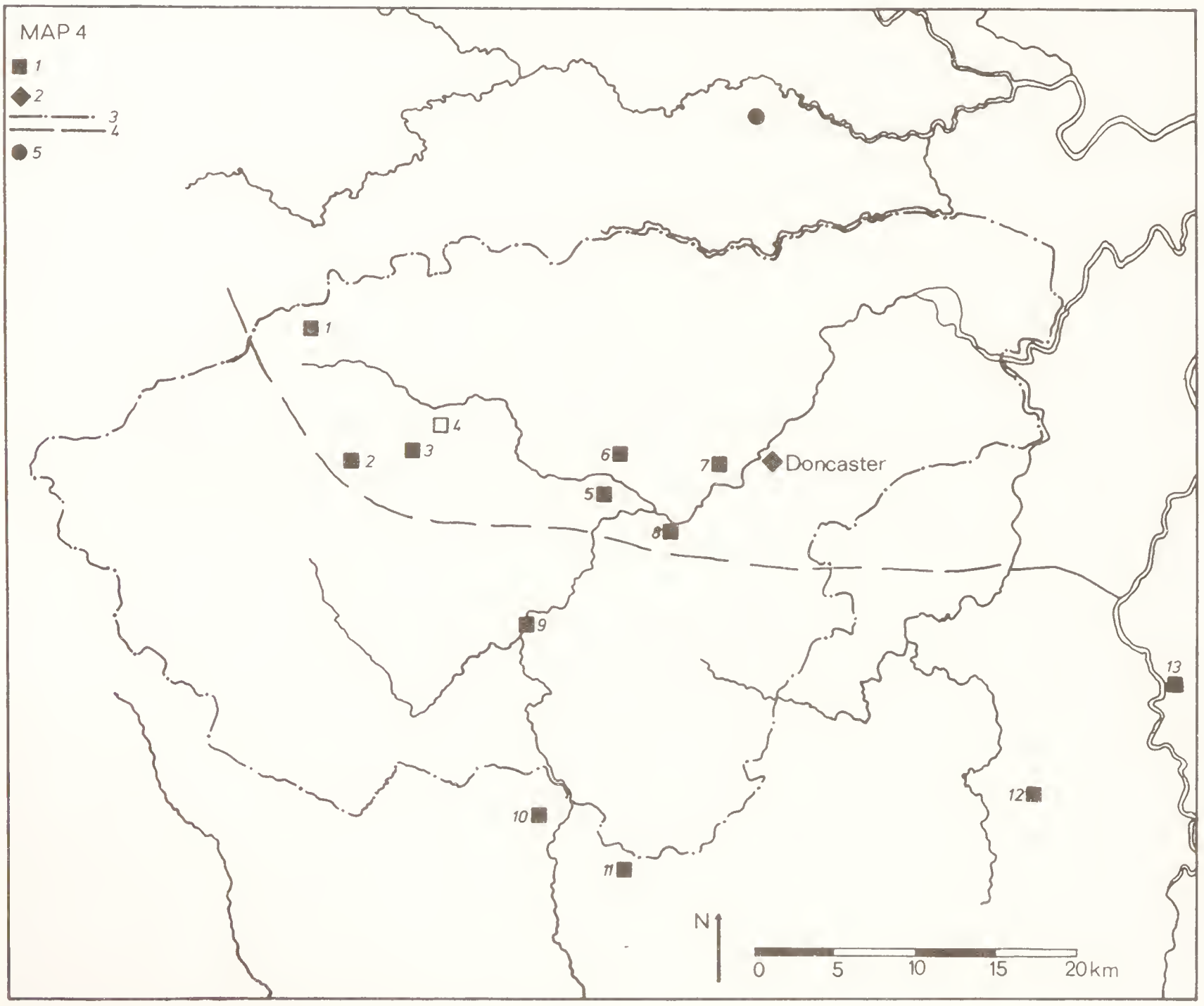

Fig 4 The Deanery of Doncaster and the *burh* boundary

1 Place-name *burh* sites. 1. Kexborough, 2. Stainborough, 3. Worsborough, 4. Measborough Dike (doubtful), 5. Mexborough, 6. Barnburgh, 7. Conisbrough, 8. Sprotbrough, 9. Masbrough, 10. Mosbrough, 11. Barlborough, 12. Clarborough, 13. Gainsborough.

2 *burh* (archaeological and historical evidence)

3 border of the Deanery of Doncaster (including areas of Peculiar Jurisdiction established from the twelfth century onwards)

4 line of apparent tenth century southern border of Northumbria.

5 other *-burh* place-names of unknown reference

Note: The townships of Littleborough and Burghwallis contain Roman forts and Templeborough is the name of a Roman fort site. The earthwork at Stainborough Castle (South Yorkshire County sites and Monuments Record P.R.N. 587) is now believed to be a medieval ringwork and therefore of later date than the place-name.

the Deanery area was fixed, but still before 1066. This shows firstly the process of growth of a soke estate in late Anglo-Saxon times, and secondly that the mother church jurisdictions of the twelfth century are no sure guide to earlier periods without supporting evidence.

Some interesting deductions may however be made from the topographical evidence of Domesday Book and the Deanery of Doncaster. Unless it originates from a later amalgamation of two units which lay on either side of the row of *burh* place-names, the Deanery must have been created after the change in the southern border of Northumbria from the line following the *burh* names to one resembling the later county boundary,

which was in existence by 942, i.e. in the period c.940-1066 (map 4)[52]. The area dependent on the *burh* (in a different sense) at Doncaster must have expanded at a similar date (and by 1015) if it included territory south of the *burh* place-name line; which would be the case if the deanery/mother church area was based on this expanded territory. It has been suggested that the estates which had been owned by Wulfric Spott in 1002-4 had a strategic border function, which seems likely (Fig. 3)[53]. Since these lands extend on both sides of the *burh* place-name border line and seem to relate to the later county boundary, they would seem as estates to have been of later origin than c.940, from which it appears again that Doncaster's military functions must have been radically reformed, as well as its ecclesiastical functions, when the boundary changed. After the re-unification of 954 Doncaster was probably placed in the hands of a loyal supporter of the West Saxon crown, i.e. Wulfric or his predecessor, and the re-organisation may not have been effected until this period. The events of 1015-6 suggest that this policy was not a complete success, hence the disappearance of the town.

The last piece of directly relevant evidence to be considered is the place-name Doncaster itself. The first element of the name may be the direct descendant of the Celtic form of *Danum,* the official Roman name of the place, and A. H. Smith in his brief discussion seems to assume this. The river name is of course of British (ie. Celtic) or earlier origin, a *Dānā,* and was the source of *Danum,* the name of the fort. However, there are examples (Colchester, Lancaster) where a river-name of pre-English origin was affixed to the Old English word *cæster* meaning 'a Roman fort', but where the river in question had not supplied the Romano-British name of the place. Hence continuity of name cannot be proved, though the survival of *Cair Daun* in Welsh tradition makes it likely. The forms *Donacester* (Symeon) and *Donacestir* (Howden) have the status of late copies of good Old English spellings and a such should be added to the list given by Smith. Clearly Doncaster had the ancestor of its present name in the English speech of the eighth century[54].

Although Doncaster was clearly an important settlement in the regional hierarchy, it is impossible without archaeological evidence to determine whether it was a commercially active site and therefore a town according to the strict economic definition of the word[55], though the fact that there was commercial activity on the sites of the Five Boroughs suggests that it was indeed a town in this sense. Medieval evidence shows that a variety of tradeable goods was produced in the country between York and Lincoln, some clearly already in 1086[56]. There is also evidence for transport in the Humber river system, including the Don, in later medieval times. Minor markets arose at Crowle, Thorne and Stainforth, clearly stimulated by riverside locations[57]. Of these Stainforth is specifically recorded as having strong economic ties with Doncaster, and if, as seems possible, Stainforth township was the location of the Anglo-Saxon monastery

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52. by 942, ASC s.a. 942, Whitelock (1979, n.23) p.221.
53. cf. Davies (1980, n.38) pp. 10-11.
54. Smith (1961-3, n.13) i, 29, vii, 126-7, E. Ekwall, *English River-names* Oxford, 1928) pp. 126-8, Rivet and Smith (1979, n.6) p.329; Colchester and Lancaster, E. Ekwall, *The Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names* (4th edn, Oxford, 1960) pp. 116, 285, from the rivers Colne and Lune. Contrasts the comments on Doncaster of M. Gelling, *Signposts to the Past, Place-Names and the History of England* (London, 1978) pp. 54-5 and 59 with G. F. Jensen, 'Lancashire and Yorkshire Names' (reviewing R. W. Morris, *Yorkshire through Place-names* Newton Abbot, 1982), *Northern Hist* xix (1983) pp. 235-6.
55. R. Hodges, *Dark Age Economics, the Origins of Towns and Trade* (London, 1982) pp. 20-5, 47-52, 66-86.
56. M. Parker, 'The Archaeology and History of South Yorkshire and Neighbouring Areas from the Fifth to the Eleventh Century A.D.' (Unpublished M.A. dissertation, School of Medieval Studies, University of Leeds, 1983) p.31.
57. Crowle, cf. *Calendars of Charter Rolls* (H.M.S.O., London, 1923-7) vol 3 p. 42 and vol 6 p. 12, Stainforth, ib, vol 5 pp. 21, 71, Hey (1979, n.2) p.71, Thorne, Magilton (1977, n.1) pp. 71-3.

Donemutha, the settlement of traders and boatmen there could have been of pre-conquest origin[58]. Unfortunately the location of the monastery has not yet been identified with certainty. However a possible clue to pre-Norman origins for this river trade and the settlements dependent on it is a number of non-standard words of Scandinavian origin preserved in the occupational dialect of the river and canal boatmen who still live at Stainforth and Thorne, and elsewhere[59].

There is some evidence for trade in finds of coins in the Humber lowlands area, including a few of the Byzantine and Merovingian gold coins of the sixth and seventh centuries, which are otherwise mainly found south-east of a line form the Wash to the Solent.[60] From about 690 onwards every century is represented by Anglo-Saxon coin finds within fifteen miles of Doncaster, though this minor concentration is too small to have a clear significance. An odd fact is that the tenth century is represented within thirty miles in any direction by only one recent find from the excavation at Hickleton church, despite the commercial importance of Anglo-Scandinavian York and the apparent existence of the *burh* at Doncaster. The eighth, ninth and eleventh centuries are all better represented. Clearly the coin evidence, although growing (due entirely to metal detector finds), cannot yet be used to provide a background to early urban development in the area.[61]

The rediscovery of pre-Norman Doncaster has various implications for local and Anglo-Saxon history. Firstly the place was clearly a centre of some importance and one of the few in the north for which there is any evidence at all. But Doncaster has never previously been so considered and therefore such a recent reference work as the *Atlas of Anglo-Saxon England* has no reference to Doncaster as the site of a town.[62] This begs the question of how many more such places can have escaped the historical net. Secondly the rediscovery has implications for local tenurial and territorial history. In the 1970s it was frequently suggested by historians that the estates of the Yorkshire Domesday records known as sokes, and their equivalents elsewhere in England, were territorial units of very great antiquity. The local subject of this theory was the soke of Conisbrough, also a property of Wulfric Spott in 1002-4, to which in 1086 a large part of the Don Valley and the land immediately on its south belonged (map 3). The Anglo-Saxon church at Conisbrough was in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the mother church of a large number of subsidiary churches or chapels and tithe areas extending from south of Rotherham to Thorne, a 'parish' very similar in area to the soke.[63] The suggestions that a major centre and great estate existed there as large as or larger than that recorded in 1086, and in addition that Conisbrough was the centre of an Anglo-Saxon political unit incorporating the two Doncaster sokes and that of Laughon en le Morthen as well as the recorded Conisbrough lands (all these territories were probably bequeathed in Wulfric Spott's will), depend implicitly on the non-existence of an important centre at Doncaster. The actual importance of early Doncaster is one of several specific grounds for a rejection of the Conisbrough hypothesis and for believing that the estate centred there, which later became the medieval Honour of Conisbrough held by the Warenne family, was a new creation of the second half of the tenth century.[64] Thirdly, a result of

58. M. Parker, 'An Anglo-Saxon monastery in the lower Don valley' forthcoming in *Northern Hist.*
59. M. Parker, 'Boating language' a new discovery in English dialectology', in the *Transactions of the Yorkshire Dialect Society* (1984).
60. cf. Rigold (1975, n.39) esp. map p.656.
61. Parker (1983, n.56) 29-31 and map 14.
62. Hill (1981, n.40) as on map 234 p.142. Doncaster appears as a dot for Wulfric's will on p. 22 map 31.
63. G. R. J. Jones, 'Early Territorial Organisation in Gwynedd and Elmet', *Northern Hist* X (1975) pp. 14-16, 23, cf. also Hey (1979, n.2) pp. 29-32, Davies (1980, n.38) pp. 6-8.
64. Davies (1980, n.38) p. 5 paragraph C. This matter is to be discussed in an article in preparation to be entitled 'Bilham and the origin of the Conisbrough estate'.

this inquiry should be to stimulate research into Anglo-Saxon Doncaster and its hinterland. Archaeology in Doncaster, though of good quality by northern standards, has concentrated almost entirely on the area of the Roman forts and avoided the heart of the medieval borough around the former site of St. Mary's church (the medieval and modern market place), and the wharf area to the north of the early market remains untouched (cf. Fig. 1). If something of the Anglo-Saxon town is to be found it may well be there, and it may be noted that at the time of writing (1984), a large proportion of this area is available for excavation and threatened with destruction by an access road and bridge scheme.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS: for permission to use unpublished material: to Doncaster MBC Library Service; Archives Department for the Doncaster Tithe Award Book of Maps, Doncaster Museum and Arts Service for Townshead's Map of Doncaster in the late Eighteenth Century; Sheffield City Libraries, Director of Libraries and Information Services for Hunter's Atlas of the Deanery of Doncaster, and to J. R. Magilton for permission to use map material from *The Doncaster District*.

THE GRAVES OF THE ABBOTS OF FOUNTAINS

By the late R. GILYARD-BEER

The burial places of the thirty-eight abbots of Fountains from the monastery's foundation in 1132 to its dissolution in 1539 are identified in this article using the information provided by historians and from excavation.[1] Their medieval enumeration is adopted here, those abbots who were not accorded a number being given that of their predecessor followed by a letter. Most were buried in the chapter house (*capitulum*) or abbey church (*ecclesia*), but for varying reasons ten are known or thought to have been buried elsewhere.

Abbots not buried at Fountains

1. *Richard I,* 1139. Died in Rome when attending the Second Lateran Council and buried there. Hic iacet Romae, adductus illuc per Albericum episcopum Hostiensis (MF.i, 130).
2. *Richard II,* 1143. Died at Clairvaux when attending the General Chapter of the Cistercian Order and buried there. sepultus apud Claremvallem (MF.i, 130).
3. *Henry Murdac,* 1153. Consecrated Archbishop of York 1147; died at Sherburn-in-Elmet 1153 and buried in York Minster. in ecclesia sancti Petri Ebor. tumulatus (MF.i, 131).

3a. *Maurice*. Resigned 1148 and retired to Rievaulx where he was presumably bur.ed. Rediit ad locum ubi assumptus fuerat (MF.i, 131).

3b. *Thorold*. Resigned 1150 and retired to Rievaulx. Later he became abbot of Trois-Fontaines (*YAJ* xxxvii, 8-43) and was presumably buried there. resignato officio, Rievalli reversus est (MF.i, 131).

9. *John of Hessle* 1225. Consecrated Bishop of Ely 1220; died and was buried there. Apud Hely sepelitur (MF.i, 134). The Ely Chronicle says: in ecclesia Elyensi versus altarem sanctae Andriae, and adds: Nunc vero in pavimento coram magno altari ad pedes Johannis de Craudene requiescit, tectus duobus lapidibus marmoreis (ibid. 135n). For an account of the opening of his grave in 1770, when his vestments and crozier were found, see ibid. 136n.

11. *Stephen of Eston* 1252. Died at Vaudey, presumably on visitation, and buried in the chapter house there. Sepultus est coram sede presidentis, in capitulo monasterii Vallis-dei, ubi miraculis choruscat (MF.i, 138).

24a. *Roger Frank*. Deposed 1413. In the following year Frank and thirteen monks were wandering through the north, disguised in secular clothes and fomenting discord. It is not known that he ever returned to Fountains and there is no record of his death or burial.

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1. MF = J. R. Walbran: Memorials of the Abbey of S. Mary of Fountains; vol. i (*Surtees Society* xlii, 1863).
   Guide = J. R. Walbran: *Guide to Ripon, Fountains Abbey &c.*, 12th edn. 1875.
   Hope = W. H. St. J. Hope: Fountains Abbey (*Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, vol. xv, 1900).
   Reeve = J. A. Reeve: *A Monograph on the Abbey of St. Mary of Fountains*. 1892.
   MR = J. T. Fowler: Memorials of the Church of SS. Peter and Wilfrid. Ripon. vol. ii (*Surtees Society* lxxviii 1884).
   Farrer = W. Farrer: *The History of Ripon*. 1st edn 1801.

32. *William Thirsk* 1537. Resigned in 1536 and was hanged, drawn and quartered at Tyburn in the following year for complicity in the Pilgrimage of Grace. It is not known what became of his head and quarters.
33. *Marmaduke Bradley* 1553. Surrendered the abbey in 1539 and retired to his prebend in Ripon, where he died. Buried in Ripon Minster. (MR.ii, 224).

Abbots buried in the chapter house.

Owing to the unusual circumstance of the first five abbots of Fountains having died and been buried away from the abbey, the first burial was that of Richard of Clairvaux in 1170 when the second chapter house had only recently been built.

The arrangement of the abbots' graves in the chapter house seems to have been unusually regular. Nineteen abbots in all were buried there, the last in 1346, and all subsequent abbots (except those who died away from the abbey) were buried in the church.

Fortunately, a combination of documentary and epigraphic evidence enables three of the graves at the extreme eastern end of the chapter house to be identified with certainty as those of abbots who died between 1211 and 1259, and the way in which they are crowded into the space at the feet of the orderly graves in the second row, intruding into the break in the stone benching left for the abbot's seat, suggest that the second row is the earlier, most probably of the abbots who died between 1170 and 1203.

There is a fairly accurate space for a third row to the west of these, and documentary evidence for a burial associated with the known position of the lectern suggests that this third row contained the graves of abbots who died between 1274 and 1316, although this gives nine candidates for four places. However, there is some evidence to show that two abbots within this date-bracket were buried elsewhere in the chapter house, and there is room in each of the second and third rows for an extra grave, which would reduce the discrepancy to one.

The fourth row from the east has two graves with matrixes for early brasses, and these are presumably the final two, of 1336 and 1346.

All this indicates an orderly sequence of burials from east to west in rows of four or five, with very few exceptions and with only one major discrepancy — the intrusion of the graves of the first half of the thirteenth century into the space at the feet of those of the twelfth century.

4. *Richard of Clairvaux* 1170. Et sepultus est in capitulo de Fontibus. (MF.i, 132).
   Walbran's suggestion that this is the third grave from the north in the second row is likely to be correct (MF.i, 132n). This was the first burial in the new chapter house and it occupies the place of honour in the middle of the central aisle opposite the first pair of columns from the east. Only the intrusion of the later grave no. 10 robs it of this honour.
5. *Robert of Pipewell* 1180. Died at Woburn probably on visitation, but his body was brought back to Fountains. Mortuus apud Wouburniam, et Fontes delatus, in capitulo reconditus est. (MF.i.132).
   Walbran suggested the grave on the right hand of no. 4, and this is as good a guess as any, for Robert would probably be buried next to his predecessor.
6. *William of Newminster* 1190. In capitulo de Fontibus est sepultus. (MF.i, 132).
   Walbran suggested the grave on the left hand of no. 4, for similar reasons. It had a small incised cross at the head. (MF.i,133n).
7. *Ralph Haget* 1203. In capitulo de Fontibus est sepultus. (MF.i, 133).
   Walbran suggested the northernmost grave in the second row, part of the cover of which had been renewed. (MF.i, 133n). This again is reasonable.

9. *John of York* 1211. In capitulo, coram sede presidentis, humatus est. (MF.i, 134).
Two of the three identifiable graves in the easternmost row have the same qualification "coram sede presidentis" so there is little doubt that this abbot's grave was in the same row. Walbran suggested the grave lacking a cover, second from the north in this row (MF.i, 134n). Reeve marks the foot of a grave cover here on his plan. The attribution is reasonable.

10. *John of Kent* 1247. Fontibus, in capitulo coram presidentis sede, sepultus est. (MF.i, 136).
The large coped marble cover in the centre of the east row, inscribed:
+H[i].REQVIESCIT.DOMPNVS,JOHS.X.AbBAS.DE
FONTIbV.QVI.OBIJT.VII KL DECEMbRIS
This abbot not only suffered from the medieval morbus aedificandi but also considered himself important enough to break the sequence of burials by usurping the place of honour at the foot of the president's chair. The grave was opened in 1790-1 when only a skull and a thigh bone were found. (MF.i, 137n).
The inscription is engraved in Walbran's Guide, 121.

12. *William of Allerton* 1258. Coram loco presidentis, in capitulo de Fontibus est sepultus. (MF.i, 138).
The coped marble cover on the right hand of no. 10, with a fragmentary inscription misread as that of John of York from the time of Martin's excavation in 1790-1 (Farrer, 178n) to the time of Walbran who re-read it as:
+H(IC REQVIE)SCIT D(OMPNV)S W(ILL X) II ABBAS DE
FONTIB QI OBIIT KL (DECE)MBRIS
(MF.i, 138n)

13. *Adam* 1259. Jacet in capitulo de Fontibus, ex parte prioris. (MF.i, 139).
Four fragments of a coped marble cover at the north end of the east row with an inscription read by Walbran as:
ADAM XIII ABBAS .... BIIT .... X L
(MF.i, 139n).
The inscription and the description ex parte prioris agree.

14. *Alexander* 1265. In capitulo de Fontibus est humatus.
(MF.i, 139).
Walbran makes no suggestion, but this abbot is an obvious candidate for the southernmost grave in the east row, tucked in at a considerable angle.

15. *Reginald* 1274. In capitulo de Fontibus est sepultus.
(MF.i, 139).
Walbran noted a stone broken into many pieces in the middle aisle of the chapter house, with a fragmentary inscription:
.... IES .... S .... REG .... S .... TES .... OCTO ....
(MF.i, 139n). Reginald died on 24 October. The stone is probably the one marked on Reeve's plan in the centre of the third bay from the east, a little north of the centre-line. If so, the grave breaks the orderly sequence.

15a *Peter Alyng*. Resigned 1279, died 1282. In capitulo de Fontibus requiescit. (MF.i, 139).
A candidate for the empty spaces in the third row.

16. *Nicholas* 1279. In capitulo de Fontibus sepelitur.
(MF.i, 139).
Another candidate for the third row.

17. *Adam Ravensworth* 1284. et in capitulo de Fontibus est sepultus. (MF.i, 140).
Another candidate for the third row.

17a. *Henry Otley*. Probably resigned 1289, died 1290.

In hostio capituli de Fontibus est sepultus. (MF.i, 140).
Walbran suggested the cover near the entrance as his grave. (Guide, 122).

17b. *Robert Thornton*. Probably resigned 1290, died 1306.
In capitulo de Fontibus est sepultus. (MF.i, 140).
No suggestion.

18. *Robert Bishopton* 1311. et in capitulo de Fontibus sepelitur. (MF.i, 141).
No suggestion.

19. *William Rigton* 1316. Et in capitulo de Fontibus requiescit, coram analogio. (MF.i, 141).
Walbran regarded the grave cover as having been removed (MF.i, 141n). Hope recorded a stone with a socket for the lectern in the middle of the second bay from the east (Hope 75) but neither his plan nor that of Reeve shows it. My own notes of c.1930 show it at the head of no. 5.

20. *Walter Coxwold*. Resigned 1336, died 1338. et in capitulo de Fontibus sepelitur. (MF.i, 142).
Opposite the second pair of columns from the east are two covers with matrixes of brasses, both ecclesiastical.
Coxwold's predecessors are perhaps too early to have had brasses, so these graves presumably represent Coxwold and his successor who was the last abbot to be buried here.
The southern of the two stones is the simpler and perhaps the earlier, with an indent for a band of inscription all round and a much-worn indent for a figure. Only the crozier head is identifiable with certainty, but vague indications suggested a tonsured head without mitre. Walbran recorded the stone (Guide 122).

21. *Robert Copgrove* 1346. In capitulo de Fontibus requiescit. (MF.i, 144). Walbran suggested a broken stone with the matrix for a figure standing under a shafted canopy and a circumscription. (MF.i, 144n). This remains north of no. 20.

It will be seen that the system of rows, providing 5, 4, 4 and 4 spaces for graves, with nos. 15 and 17a as outliers, gives the nineteen spaces needed to accommodate the nineteen abbots known to have been buried in the chapter house, but it does not exhaust the supply of known graves and it is fairly certain that there may have been other burials of benefactors (although none is recorded) or perhaps of abbots of other houses. For instance, just as Abbot Stephen of Eston was buried in the chapter house of Fountain's daughter-house of Vaudey, so Turgesius, Abbot of Kirkstall, who resigned in *c.*1202 and retired to Fountains where he had once been a monk, may have rated burial in the chapter house.

A & B. Hope records two uninscribed covers in the north west part of the chapter house but does not mark them on his plan and does not make clear whether he is referring to no. 17a and H. (Hope, 75n).

C. Hope also recorded a stone coffin covered with a sheet of lead, in the south west corner of the chapter house, again not shown on his plan. (Hope, 75n).

D. Walbran recorded part of a coped thirteenth-century grave cover near no. 20 (Guide 122). This is presumably the fragment shown south of no. 15 on Reeve's plan and is clearly not in situ. It is now under the turf.

E. Walbran recorded a fragment "of the same date" as no. 20 and near it (Guide 122) associated with D. On Reeve's plan a fragment of a cover is seen underlying D, and this may be the one. But the description is far from clear, and Walbran also recorded alongside no. 15 a small marble slab, much broken, with the matrix of

a figure holding a crozier and a circumscription with corner pieces. At first sight this would seem to be no. 21, but that has no visible crozier and no "corner pieces" (i.e. plaques for the symbols of the Evangelists).
The arrangements here must await excavation before they can be determined.

F. Possible spaces for graves.

G. Possible spaces for graves.

H Stone coffin with head recess. This looks like a by-product of the 1790-1 excavations, but Reeve regarded it as being in situ. (Reeve 25). Hope and Walbran do not mention it.

Abbots buried in the church.

The permanent transition from burial in the chapter house to burial in the church, falling within the time of a single abbot (1346-69) is particularly clear-cut at Fountains.

22. *Robert Monkton* 1369. Hic in ecclesia, coram altari sancti Petri, sepelitur. (MF.i,144).
Walbran suggested the north chapel of the north transept, but this was due to his misreading the inscription on the later blocking-wall in its western arch. (MF.i,144n).

23. *William Gower*. Resigned 1384, died 1390. Sepultus ante novem altaria, quasi in medio. (MF.i,145).
A skeleton was found here c.1843 with its skull on its breast, but Walbran considered that it was in debris some 2ft. above pavement level, and therefore of post-dissolution date. When he re-excavated here in 1853-4 it had gone. (MF.i,145n).

24. *Robert Burley* 1410. Sepelitur in choro, in medio, ante stallas abbatis et prioris. (MF.i,145). Walbran thought he could make out the word ROBERTVS on the head of an incised slab showing a mitred abbot with crozier under an elaborate canopy, then (and still) lying loose in the south transept chapel. (MF.i.145n). The anti-pope John XXIII (1410-15) granted the mitre and episcopal, insignia to Fountains, but the grant was later revoked (VCH. *Yorks.*, iii, 136). The anti-pope's dates show that Burley is the only abbot named Robert on whose tomb the mitre could have been shown.

25. *John Ripon* 1435. In Fontibus sepultus est, ante introitum chori, in navi ecclesiae. (MF.i,146). Walbran thought this was no. 29 (MF.i,147n), but that is too far to the east.

26. *Thomas Paslew*. Resigned 1442, died 1443. In navi ecclesiae, inter altare sanctae Mariae et altare sancti Bernardi, humanae traditur sepulturae. (MF.i,147).
Obviously between the flanking altars of the pulpitum, the retro-choir apparently being regarded as part of the nave.
Walbran recorded some shattered fragments of a marble cover with the matrix of a brass in the middle of the transept, but this would be too far east. (MF.i,147n).

27. *John Martin* 1442. Et sepelitur in navi ecclesiae, inter Johannem Rypon et Thomam Paslew quondam abbates. (MF.i,147).
This puts Ripon, Martin and Paslew in line from east to west between the western stalls of the choir and the pulpitum entry.

Martin is the last abbot whose burial is recorded in the President Book, but four of his six successors (the others are nos. 32 and 33) would almost certainly be buried in the church. They are:

28. *John Greenwell* 1471. No information.

29. *Thomas Swinton*. Resigned 1478. Date of death not known. A very large slab

between the eastern piers of the crossing, with the matrix of a brass showing a marginal band of inscription with corner roundels and the figure of an abbot with mitre and crozier under an elaborate canopy between two shields.
Attributed by Walbran to no. 25, with an account of the disturbance of the grave by workmen in 1840. (MF.i,147n). Hope noticed that the mitre did not rest on the head but was just above it, and suggested that this indicated an abbot who had resigned, so attributing the grave to abbot Swinton. (Hope 34).
Engraved inaccurately in the Guide, 116.

30. *John Darnton* 1495.
No information.

31. *Marmaduke Huby* 1526.
Walbran suggested an uninscribed slab by the west wall of the north transept, most improbably. (Mi,152n).

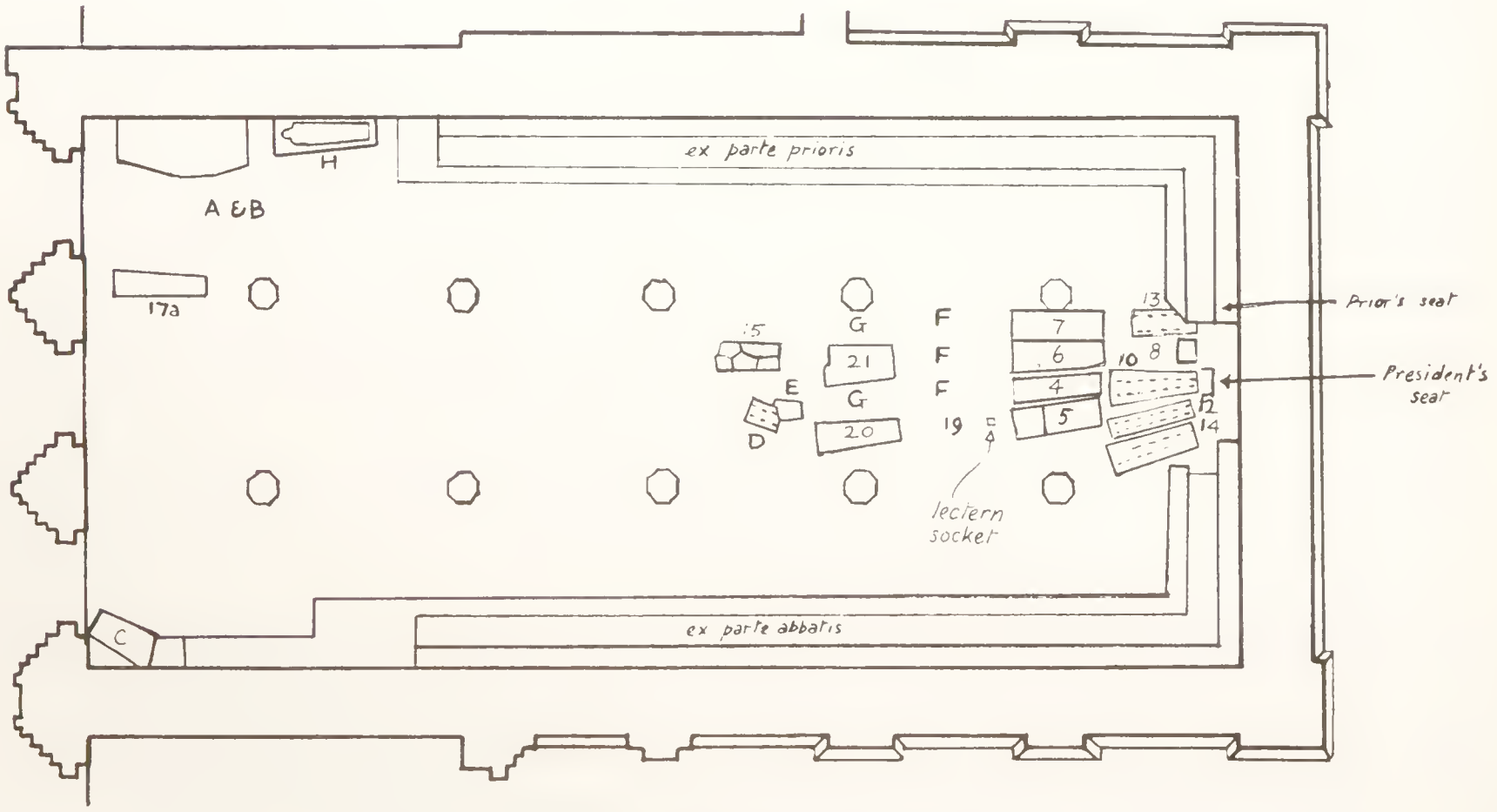


Fig. 1. Fountains Abbey: plan of chapter house

FIVE SOUTH YORKSHIRE TIMBER-FRAMED HOUSES

By PETER F. RYDER

Over the last five or six years a considerable number of medieval and sixteenth-century houses have been recognised and recorded by the South Yorkshire County Archaeological Service, most being of timber-framed construction. Five of these houses, including three in which restoration works afforded an opportunity for a full structural investigation, are here described and discussed. Together they represent the diversity of late medieval house types to be found in the area. Variations in plan form and carpentry reflect both regional styles and the social position of the owner.

No. 4 Walseker Lane, Woodall (Plates 1, 2; Fig. 1).

The unnamed farmhouse, No. 4 Walseker Lane at Woodall, 12 km. south of Rotherham, is one of the earliest domestic buildings so far identified in South Yorkshire, a four-bay house probably of the later fourteenth century, retaining a notable crown-post roof.

The village of Woodall is centred on the staggered junction of two lanes, Killamarsh Lane running east-west and Walseker / Dowcarr Lane running north-south. The present village consists largely of a linear development on the north-south route, with a scatter of older houses on external appearances mostly of eighteenth-century date, and much modern infill. No. 4 Walseker Lane is unusual in being set well back from the roads to the north-east of the junction, being *c.*60m from both Walseker Lane on the west and Killamarsh Lane on the south.

Description

The house consists of a rectangular block *c.*17 m x 7 m externally with a steeply pitched roof hipped at the east end but gabled to the west, and incorporating a post-and-truss structure of four unequal bays. The two western bays of the framed building, together

Plate 1. No. 4, Walseker Lane, Woodall: view from NW.

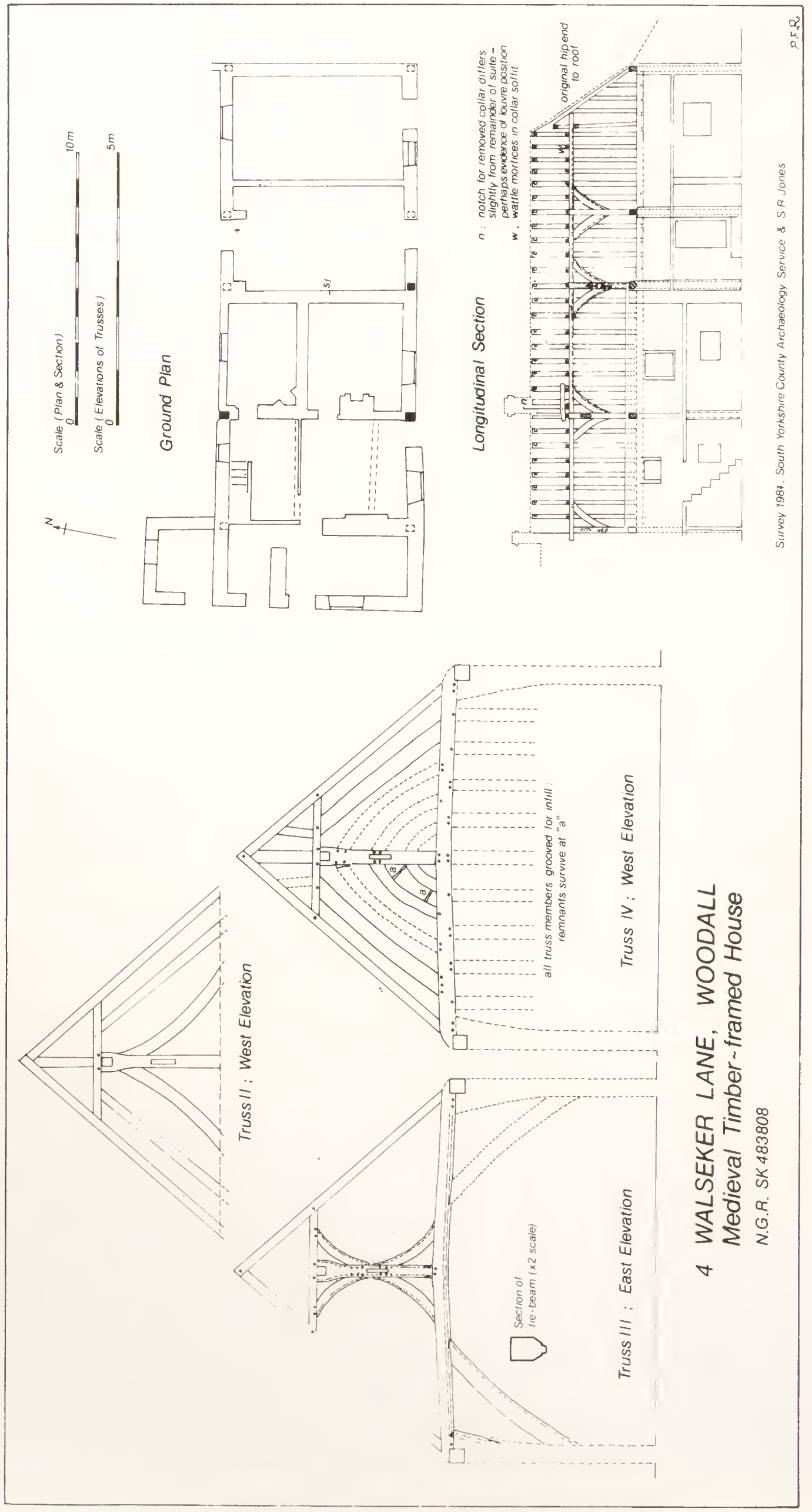


Fig. 1. No. 4 Walseker Lane, Woodall: plan, elevations and section.

with a short extension beyond, are now in use as a dwelling house whilst the two eastern bays serve as outhouses with a storage loft over.

The medieval house apparently consisted of a central two-bay hall flanked by end bays which may or may not have been storeyed. The shorter eastern bay of the hall perhaps housed the dais, with the bay beyond containing the solar, its status suggested by the collar purlin and braces over the bay being neatly chamfered. At the west end of the hall a substantial stone wall may represent an original reredos for a hearth, whilst slight evidences in the roof above — notching on the rafters for a (removed) collar set at a lower level than its fellows — may also point to a louvre or fire hood position here. If the house possessed a conventional medieval cross-passage entry behind the stack, this would have been within the western bay where a doorway on the south may perpetuate an earlier entrance position. A cross-passage in this position would leave little room within the bay for service apartments; however the stone-built western extension (the fabric of which appears coeval with the main seventeenth-century (?) cladding of the timber house) may replace an original end-aisle or outshut. A section of studded partition wall of uncertain date survives between the western bay of the framed structure and the extension. Alternatively, the reredos wall and firehood might be a later modification (cf. the house on Barnby Hall Farm) to a hall originally heated by a central open hearth, which would have allowed its western bay to accommodate a screens passage.

The impressive crown-post roof survives virtually intact (Plate 2). The open truss which spanned the hall is an impressive piece of carpentry, indicating the status of the original house. The slightly cambered tie-beam has a double-chamfered soffit (the outer chamfer continued down the principal posts, the inner down the long arched braces) and a crown post flanked by pairs of arcuate braces rising to the collar and dropping to the tie, the curve of each pair being continuous so as to produce what is visually a mouchette form between braces, tie and rafter.

Trusses II and IV, at either end of the hall, have been closed, the infill being carried by

Plate 2. No. 4, Walseker Lane, Woodall: E. part of roof, looking NW.

strutting of various forms. The tie-beam of truss IV shows a series of pegged mortices for studding, the lack of braces perhaps indicating a bressumer at mid-height which might have carried the timbers of a floor in the solar bay beyond. Unfortunately both principal posts have been removed, so this arrangement must be largely a matter of surmise. The hip end of the roof is marked by a rafter pair provided with two collars, the upper carrying the hip rafters and the lower the end of the collar purlin, which is only scarfed once over its 15.6 m length.

The stone cladding of the house appears to have been carried out in a piecemeal manner in the seventeenth or eighteenth century. The hollow-chamfered stops on the ceiling beams in the ground-floor room occupying the west bay of the framed house look like seventeenth-century work, but otherwise there is an almost total lack of dateable features. Partition into house and barn probably occurred at this time; the structural evidence underlines the decline in status of the house suggested by the historical evidence (or rather by its lack!), a decline in status probably responsible for the preservation of such an important early house.

Historical Notes.

The earliest definitive reference to the house so far traced is its appearance on the 1844 Tithe Award Map[1] which shows it as part of the Duke of Leeds' estates, then tenanted by a George Wilkes. Evidence for its earlier history is largely circumstantial.

The name of the hamlet is recorded in various medieval sources as Wodehale, Wdehalle, Wodehall and Wodall[2] all originating from 'Wood Hall' — 'the hall in the wood'. This in itself would suggest the presence of a hall or manor house, no direct reference to which has as yet been traced. The place-name occurs as a surname in several medieval documents, for instance in a grant of 1321, by William son of Adam de Wodehall to Henry de Oilly and Juliana his wife for their lives of a house called 'Turilogus' in Wodehall.[3] At this date the surname might well indicate a landowning family.

Much of Woodall was included in the Duke of Leeds' estates from the seventeenth century. Woodall was by this time a hamlet within the parish of Harthill, which had its own manor house. The only clues to the former importance of the Woodall house are seen in some of the field names shown on the 1844 Tithe Award map already referred to; the large field to the east and north of the house is shown as the 'Sheepstone Yard' but beyond this, spanning almost the whole area between Killamarsh and Walseker Lanes, are 'Hall Leys' and 'Hall Ings'.

These tentative hints, coupled with the obvious status of the building itself, point to no. 4 Walseker Lane being the former 'Wood Hall' of the place-name. Decline in status appears to have taken place early, perhaps before the end of the medieval period. A local tradition, quoted by the present occupant, is that the building is a conversion of an old barn. Perhaps the medieval hall was in fact turned to such a use before being returned, at least in part, to domestic use in the seventeenth or early eighteenth century.

House on Barnby Hall Farm, Cawthorne, (Plates 3, 4; Fig. 2).

Barnby Hall, an early Victorian house replacing an older building destroyed by fire, stands 0.8 km. to the east of the village of Cawthorne, within which parish it lies, and 5 km. west of Barnsley, a short distance north of the A635 road. A number of features of antiquity survive around the house; immediately to the north a medieval arch, perhaps a relic of the older hall, has been re-set in the garden wall, to the west slight earthworks in

1. Sheffield City Library.
2. A. H. Smith, 1961. *The Place Names of the West Riding of Yorkshire* Part. 1, 154.
3. Public Record Office 1890, *Catalogue of Ancient Deeds* C.4059.

SINGLE~AISLED HALL HOUSE AT BARNBY HALL FARM, CAWTHORNE.

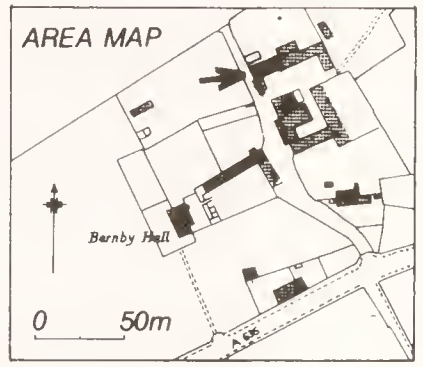
METROPOLITAN DISTRICT OF BARNSLEY, SOUTH YORKSHIRE

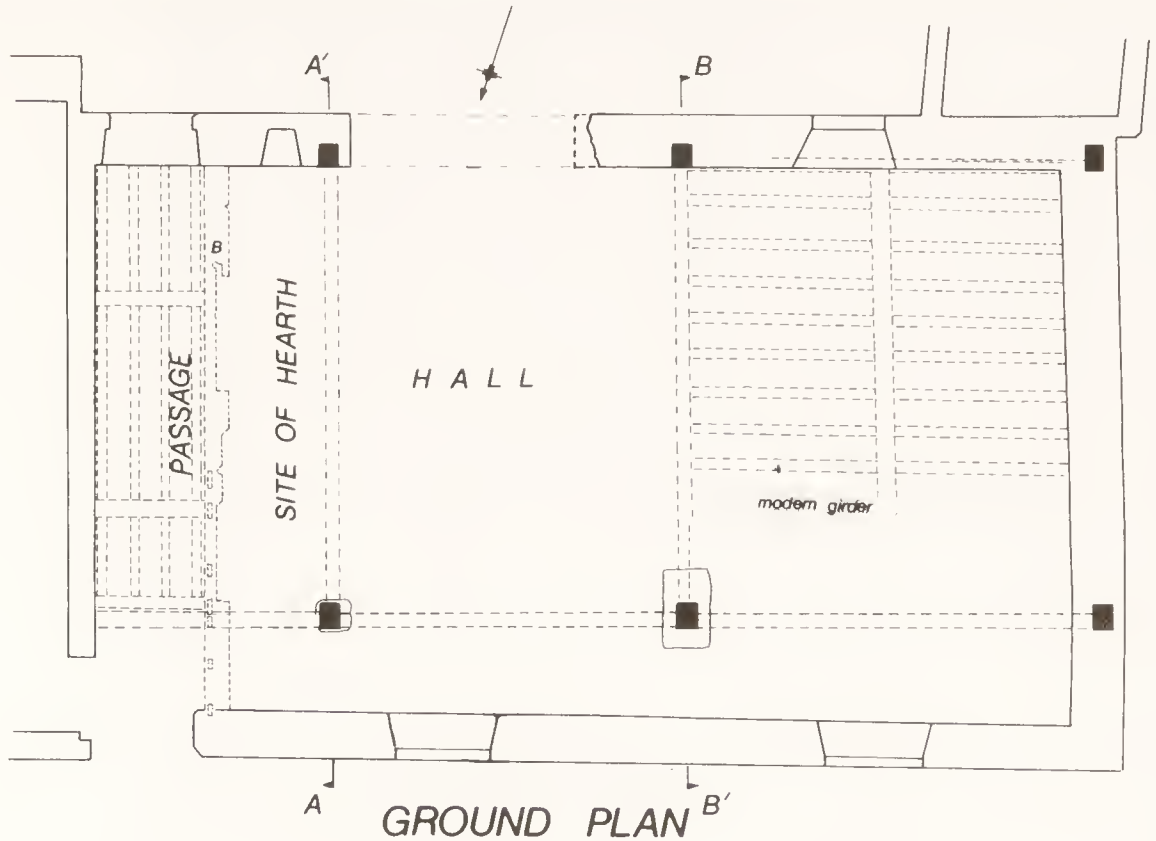
N.G.R. SE 2926 0817

Survey by South Yorkshire County Archaeology Service & S.R.Jones

0 5metres

0 10 ft





TRUSS II

TRUSS III

INTERNAL ELEVATION OF SOUTH WALL

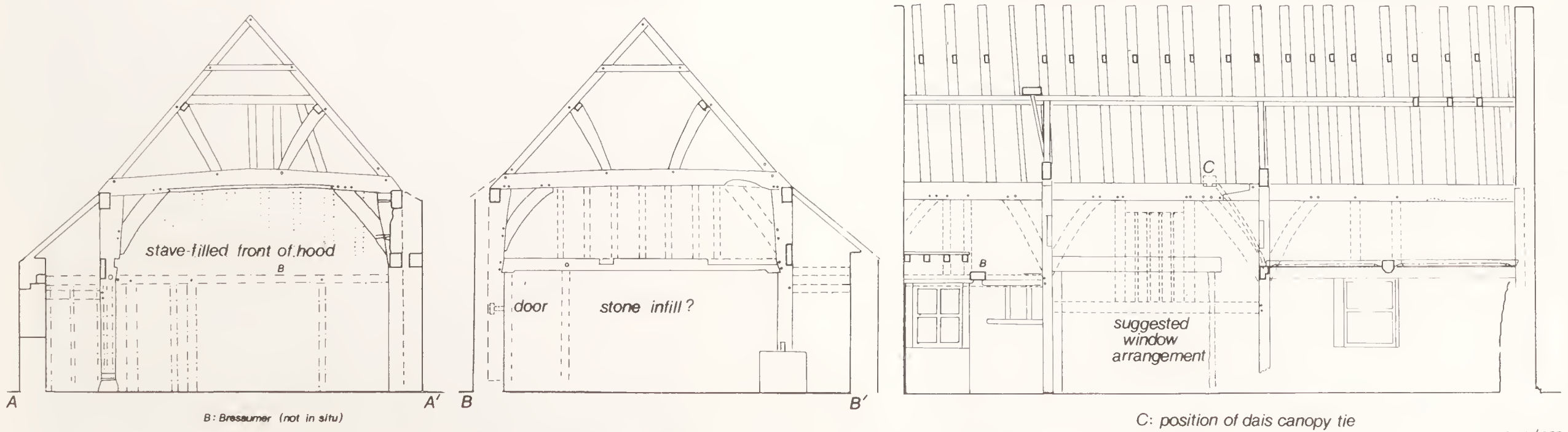


Fig. 2. Barnby Hall Farm: former house; plan, elevation and sections.

Plate 3. Barnby Hall Farm, Cawthorne: former house from SW.

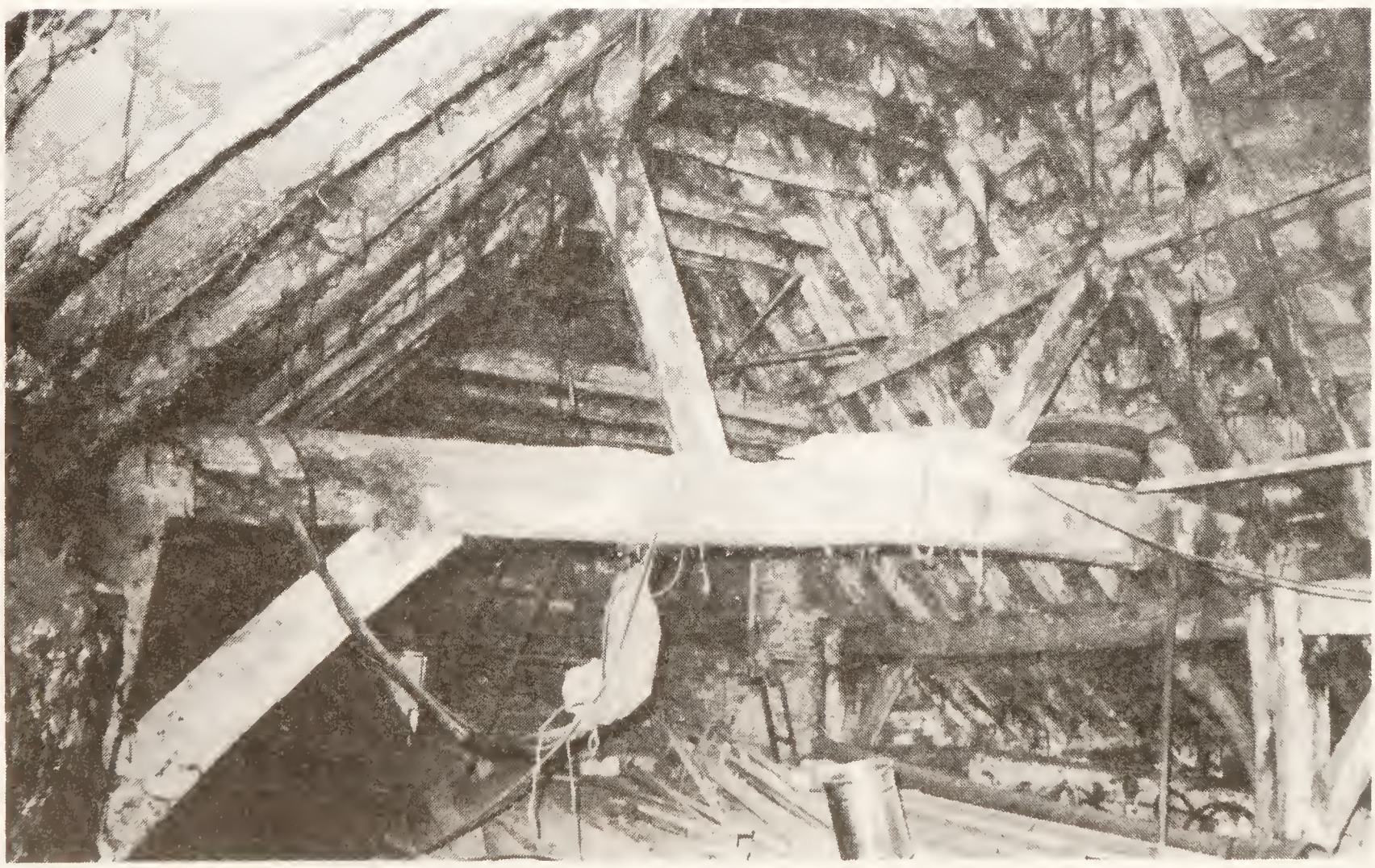


Plate 4. Barnby Hall Farm: former house, roof, looking W.

the fields suggest a settlement formerly more extensive than at present, and to the south beside the road a seventeenth-century timber-framed barn remains attached to Ivy Cottage. Of greater interest however are the remains of a late medieval aisled house which now serve as a barn amongst the farm buildings north-east of the Hall.

The present building, externally 11.75 m x 7.3 m., incorporates three bays of a post-and-truss structure, with an aisle on the north. The east end of the timber-framed building has been truncated by a modern wall, and has probably been shorn of a fourth bay if not of a cross wing.

The central of the surviving three bays has been occupied by a hall open to the rafters, and the western bay by a parlour with a chamber above. The chamfered beams and joists of the parlour ceiling largely survive. Access to the chamber above must have been by a stair either on the north side of the bay or within the adjacent aisle. Stud mortices in the soffit of the bressumer of the truss between hall and parlour point to a doorway at the south end of the dividing wall, which may have been of stone up to bressumer level, with a stud partition above.

Seatings on the wall and arcade plate remain to indicate the former presence of a tie-beam spanning the west end of the hall, in the usual position of a dais canopy, such as that which survives at Lees Hall, Thornhill.[4] The lack of evidence for infill beneath the wall plate on the south of the hall suggests the position of a large window.

The eastern bay of the surviving structure would appear to have been divided between a hearth position and a cross passage, although evidences of the original arrangement have been complicated by the insertion of a firehood (perhaps in the 16th century) and the later removal of the reredos wall which one would presume stood between the hearth and the cross passage. The area of the passage is now floored over, its joists being carried on a re-set bressumer which was probably part of the inserted hood.

The external walls of the house may have been of stone construction up to a girding beam or rail at mid-height and framed above that, except in the case of the aisle wall which appears likely to have been of stone to full height from the first. Such a combination of stone walls and timber framing would appear to be of common occurrence in the region, and is well seen in the great sixteenth-century barn at Gunthwaite Hall.[5]

The original roof timbers of the house survive more or less intact, the structure being of common rafter pairs with collars, with purlins clasped against the underside of the rafters by means of curving struts arising from the tie-beams of the trusses. The original form of the west end of the roof is not quite clear; the last two rafter pairs do not have collars, and may be later replacements. Elsewhere in South Yorkshire roofs of this type, e.g. at Netherfold Farmhouse, The Old Golden Cross in Cawthorne village and Shore Hall Barn at Penistone, have half-hipped ends.

The surviving timbers of the house are all treated very plainly; only the tie-beam of the truss at the east end of the hall and the ceiling beams and joists above the parlour show any refinement, having chamfers with elegant broach stops, which may indicate a late fifteenth rather then a sixteenth-century construction for a building otherwise very difficult to date.

Historical Notes.

Little historical research has been carried out on Barnby Hall. The most important point that can be made is that the aisled house which survives was clearly *not* the hall itself, in which the Barnby family, who 'ranked with the principal gentry of this part of the country'[6] resided from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century. The aisled house

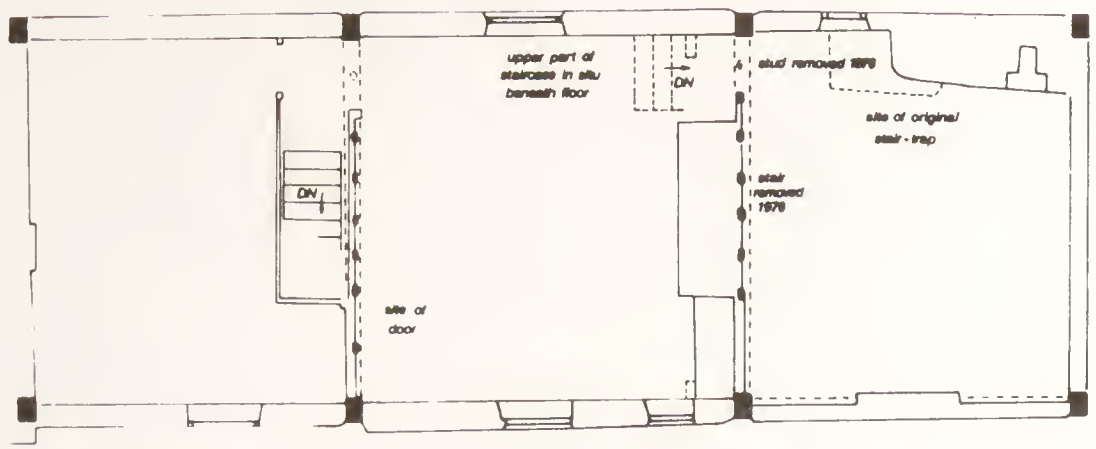
4. T. G. Manby 1971, 'Lees Hall, Thornhill', *Yorks Archaeol. J.* 43, 112-127.
5. S. R. Jones 1980, 'Gunthwaite Hall Barn', *Archaeol. J.* 137, 462-466.
6. J. Hunter 1831, *'South Yorkshire'* London,; Nichols, Vol. II.

NETHERFOLD FARMHOUSE

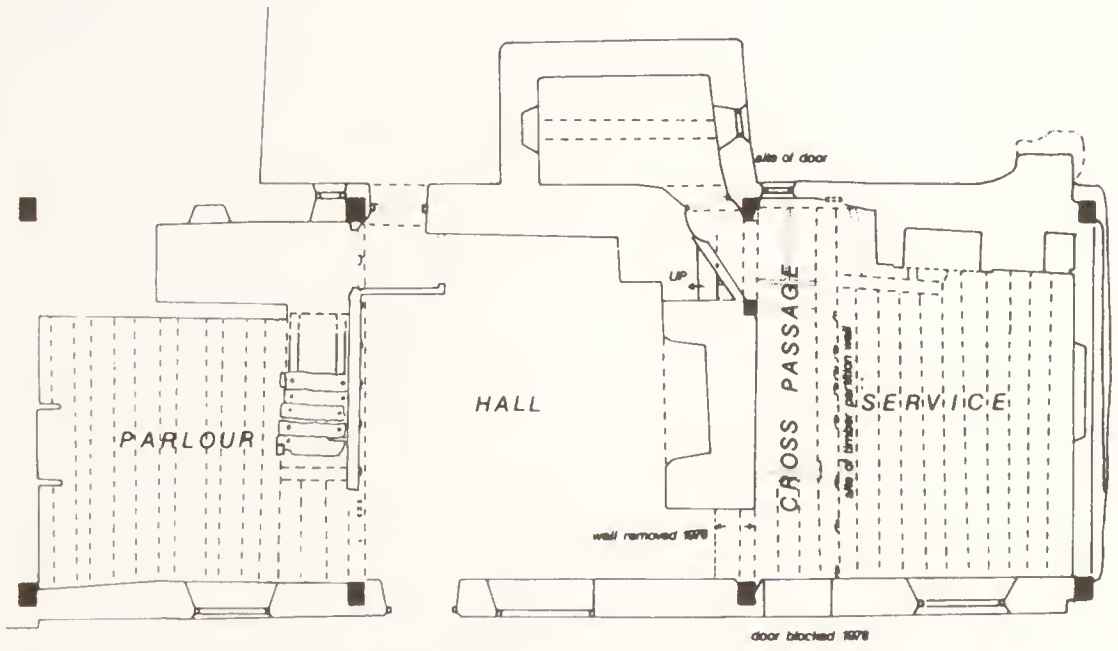
Thorpe Common, Rotherham, South Yorkshire.

N.G.R. SK 384952

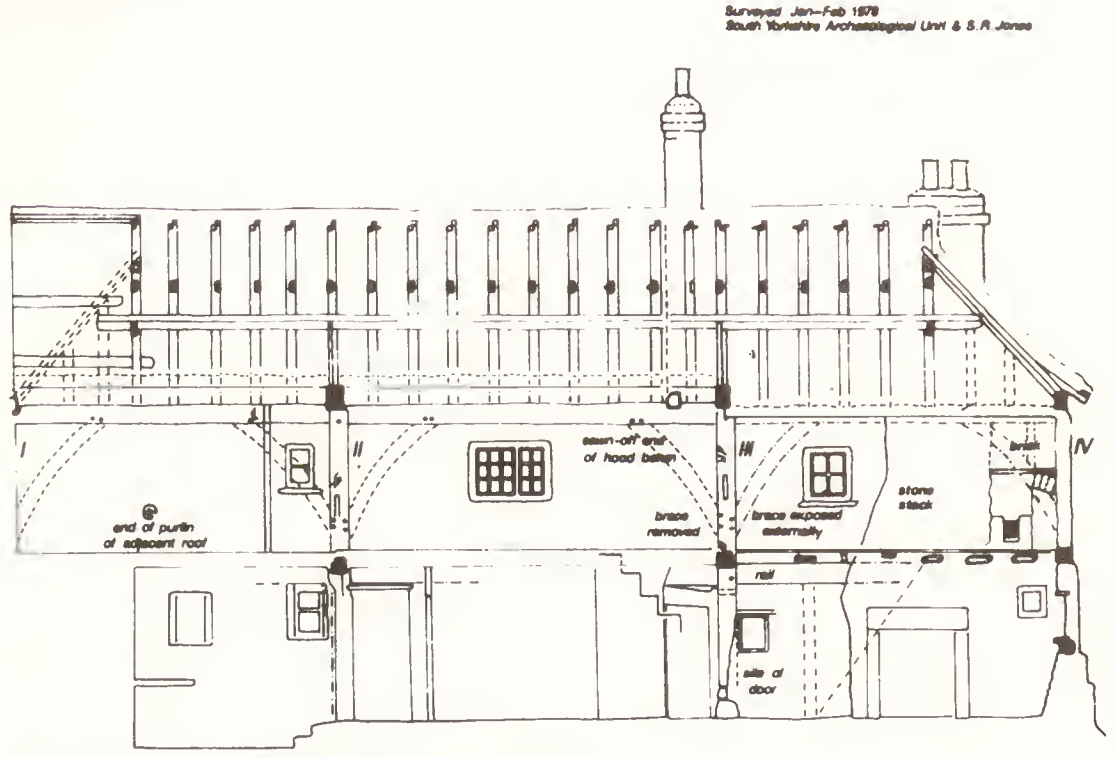
Scale
0 5 10 15 feet
0 1 2 3 4 5 metres



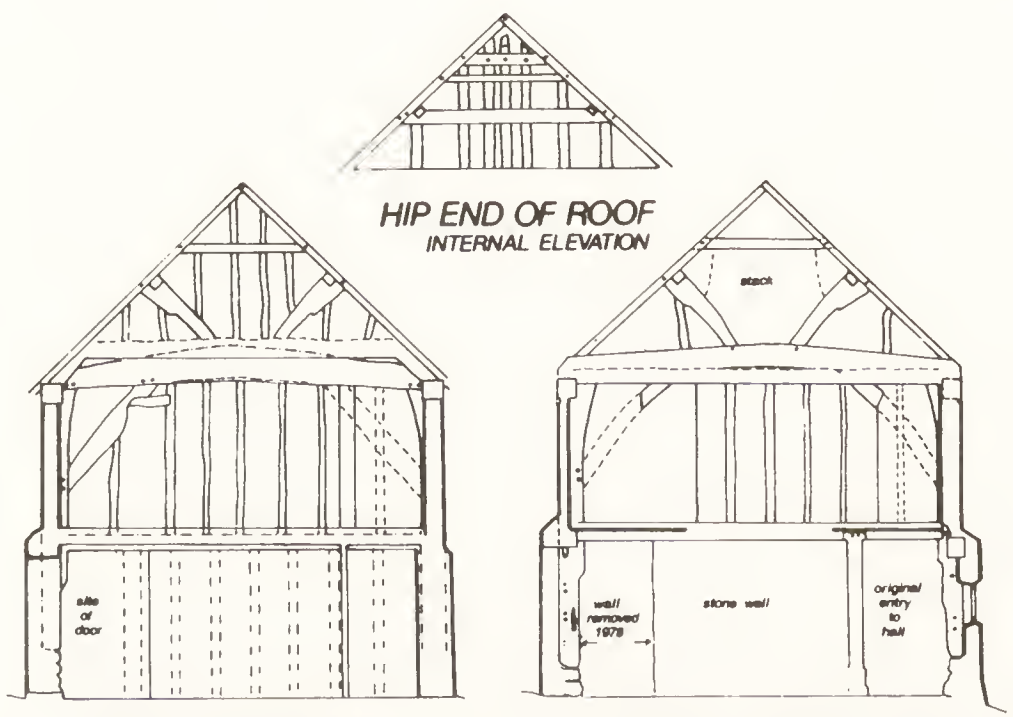
FIRST FLOOR PLAN



GROUND PLAN



INTERNAL ELEVATION OF NORTH WALL.



PFR SRJ

Fig. 3. Netherfold Farmhouse: plans, elevations and sections.

has apparently been in agricultural use for a considerable time, at least since the late eighteenth / early nineteenth century when the adjacent farm complex was built.

Netherfold Farmhouse, Thorpe Common, (Plate 5; Figs. 3, 4)

A detailed description of Netherfold Farmhouse has already appeared in print,[7] but a combination of recent structural discoveries and the dendrochronological dating of the structure justify a second more concise account of one of the best-preserved medieval houses in South Yorkshire.

Netherfold Farmhouse stands on the north side of the lane running from Thorpe Common, a relatively recent settlement on the main A629 road 5 km north-west of Rotherham, to Scholes village; 270 m. to the east, on the opposite side of the A 629 is Kirkstead Abbey Grange, a group of buildings incorporating important remains of a medieval monastic iron-working establishment.

At Netherfold the farmhouse forms the south side of a square of buildings surrounding a farm yard. The east and west sides of the yard are formed by cottages and buildings of no great age, but on the north side of the yard is a timber-framed barn which may be coeval with the farmhouse.

Description

The farmhouse is a three-bay post-and-truss structure. externally 15 m by 6 m., with a nineteenth-century house built onto its west end. The layout of the original late

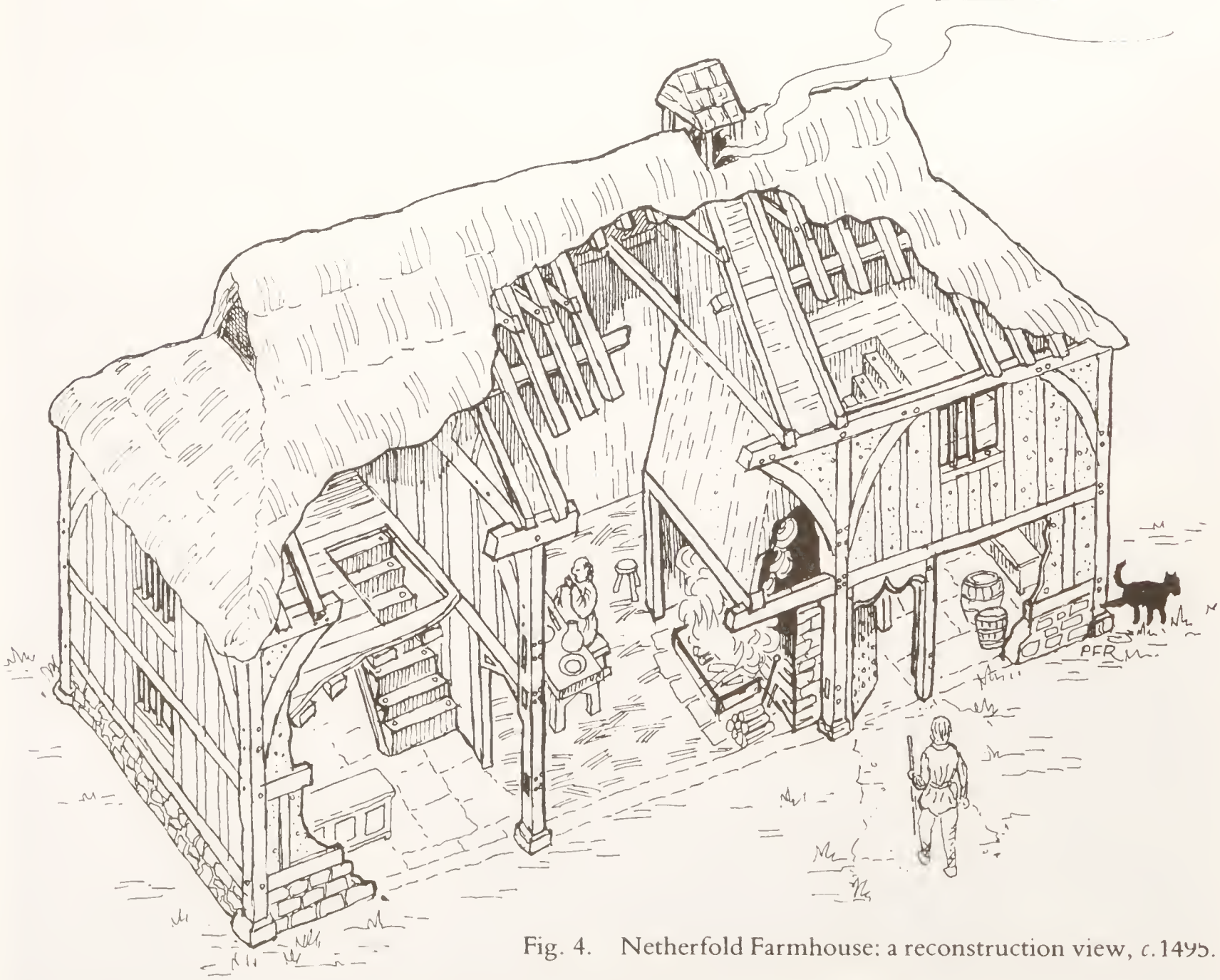


Fig. 4. Netherfold Farmhouse: a reconstruction view, *c.*1495.

7. P. Ryder 1979, *'Timber-Framed Buildings in South Yorkshire'*, South Yorkshire County Archaeology Monograph 1, 62-69. A plan and short account are in *Arch. J.* 137 (1980), pp. 380, 387.

fifteenth-century house is quite clear, following the detailed recording of the house during restoration work, although evidence of some small-scale features such as window positions remains elusive.

The central bay of the house has been an open hall, with a hearth at its east end which was equipped with a firehood of some form from the first. The stone reredos wall behind the hearth backed onto the cross passage, which structurally lies within the eastern bay. Evidence survived for doorways at each end of the passage, from the north end of the passage into the hall, and on the east side of the passage into the service room occupying the remainder of the ground floor of the bay and, opposite the hall door, onto a steep ladder stair into the upper chamber. At the west end of the hall was a stud partition with a door at its south end into the parlour which occupied the ground floor of the western bay, within which a steep ladder stairs gave access to the chamber above.

Prior to the recent (1981) restoration both end bays retained their original floors of closely spaced heavy but flat (0.3 m wide by 0.08 m deep) beams. That in the eastern bay, where the beams were badly rotted at their ends, has now been removed — an unfortunate loss to the house but an invaluable source of material for dendrochronological study.

An interesting distinction between the high and low ends of the house is seen in the contrast between the stud partitions between cross passage and service rooms, where the heads of the studs was nailed into crudely chiselled lap joints in a ceiling beam, and between hall and parlour, where more regular vertical members were properly morticed into the truss bressumer.

The external walls of the house have had rails or girding beams at mid height and, at least at the east end and on the south side of the hall, sill beams of the usual northern interrupted type *c.*1 m. above floor level. The lower parts of the walls are now of substantial stonework, with presumably later brick above. The original studs were probably fairly light and well spaced; the only pegged mortices in the wall plates are for the braces from the principal posts.

Plate 5. Netherfold Farmhouse, Thorpe Common: E. end of roof, showing hip construction.

The wall-plate on each side of the house is an unscarfed piece of oak running the whole 14.5 m three-bay length. The stud ends of a tie-beam seated on the plate 0.4 m in front of the truss at the east end of the hall are probably a remnant of the firehood arrangements. The roof structure of the house survives intact, and is of a form close to that of Barnby Hall. The collared rafter pairs have purlins clasped against their undersides by broad curving struts rising from the truss tie-beams. In this case the roof has been hipped at each end, an arrangement which survives on the east (Plate 5) but was altered on the west when the nineteenth-century addition was made. The hip structure involves the last pair of full rafters being provided with three collars, and produces a small gablet above the hip, whereas the more conventional full hip of the earlier Woodall roof is constructed with only two collars.

The most interesting discovery of the 1981 restoration was the survival of the original parlour stair, which had been concealed beneath a later staircase. This consists of two members .1 m x .08 m inclined at rather more than 45°, to which heavy triangular-section oak blocks are secured by vertical pegs to produce treads .3 m high and .2 m deep. Only the lower four treads survived, but the stair has since been restored to full height. A vertical post at the stair foot to which a horizontal handrail was attached is perhaps a later modification.

It is unnecessary to here chronicle post-medieval alterations to the house in detail. The good quality late sixteenth or seventeenth-century stone fireplace in the hall, with a flat-pointed arch within a square frame, suggests that the building remained a farmhouse of reasonable status for some time, but by the eighteenth century it was being divided up into cottages, to which phase the poor-quality first floor stud partitions may belong.

Historical Notes and Dendrochronological Dating.

For once, the construction date of a timber-framed house can be given with some degree of precision. Dendrochronological analysis of the removed ceiling beams from the service bay, along with two sections of the roof structure — a purlin and a collar — has given a felling date for the timber of late 1494 or early 1495.[8] This is especially fortunate as there appears to be very little in the way of historical records relevant to the house. A map dated 1778 and a notebook of 1801[9] describe the buildings now known as Netherfold simply as a 'homestead' in Scholes Far Field, part of Earl Fitzwilliam's estates then tenanted by a William Yeardley of Park Gate. The house has clearly never been of gentry status, and must fall into the same class as the West Riding aisled halls and the Vale of York houses, as the substantial home of a yeoman farmer.

Harley Hall (Plates 6, 7; Figs 5, 6)

Harley Hall is another house where recent restoration has allowed detailed investigation and survey, but unlike those so far described it is not a structure of a single build. Although a considerable part of the structure of the sixteenth-century timber house survives, the original internal arrangements are difficult to reconstruct in detail. The house, until recently divided up into four separate dwellings, forms part of the hamlet of Low Harley, about 1 km to the west of the parish church of Wentworth and a shorter distance north-east of the present mining settlement of Harley.

Description

In plan the timber-framed house consists of a two-bay hall block with a cross wing of similar extent at each end, the whole now forming the centre of a range of buildings

8. J. Hillam 1981, 'Tree Ring Dates for Buildings with Oak Timber', *Vernacular Architecture* 12, 40.
9. Fairbanks Collection in Sheffield City Museum, MB 383.

running south-east to north-west (hereafter referred to as east to west). The hall block, of two unequal bays, measures 7.2 m x 6 m externally, the west wing 8 m x 5.7 m and the taller east wing 8 m x 6.3 m (widened to 8.8 m when recast in stone).

The hall block and west wing can be tentatively dated to *c.*1500, and are in style typical of the 'Highland' carpentry prevalent in South and West Yorkshire throughout the period 1450–1600, with close-studded walls and king-post roof trusses. The 'high' end of the hall would appear to have originally been to the west, with the west wing housing the parlour with the principal chamber or solar — an apartment running the length of the wing and lit by a five-light oriel window in the north gable — above. The former existence of a dais canopy is suggested by the form of the west truss of the hall block; this stands 0.85 m in front of the wall of the wing, and appears to have been open beneath a bressumer set only 0.9 m below the soffit of the tie-beam, with a neat range of close studding between bressumer and tie. The head of a canopy would appear likely to have been fixed to the bressumer and the base to a rail fixed against the wall of the wing — a large face peg remains in the east face of the east post of the central truss of the wing.

Several evidences survive of a firehood and stack in the shorter eastern bay of the hall — the stub ends of a tie-beam .7 m east of the central hall truss (cf. Netherfold), the rafter on the northern roof slope adjacent to the east face of the truss being sawn off at purlin level, smoke blackening on the northern half of the tie-beam and the northern post of the truss etc. From these it would appear that the hood, and presumably the hearth beneath, occupied only the northern half of the bay. Some features, such as the crude notching of the (removed) hood bressumer into the principal posts of the truss, suggest that the hood is a secondary insertion; however there is no evidence of an earlier louvre or the extensive

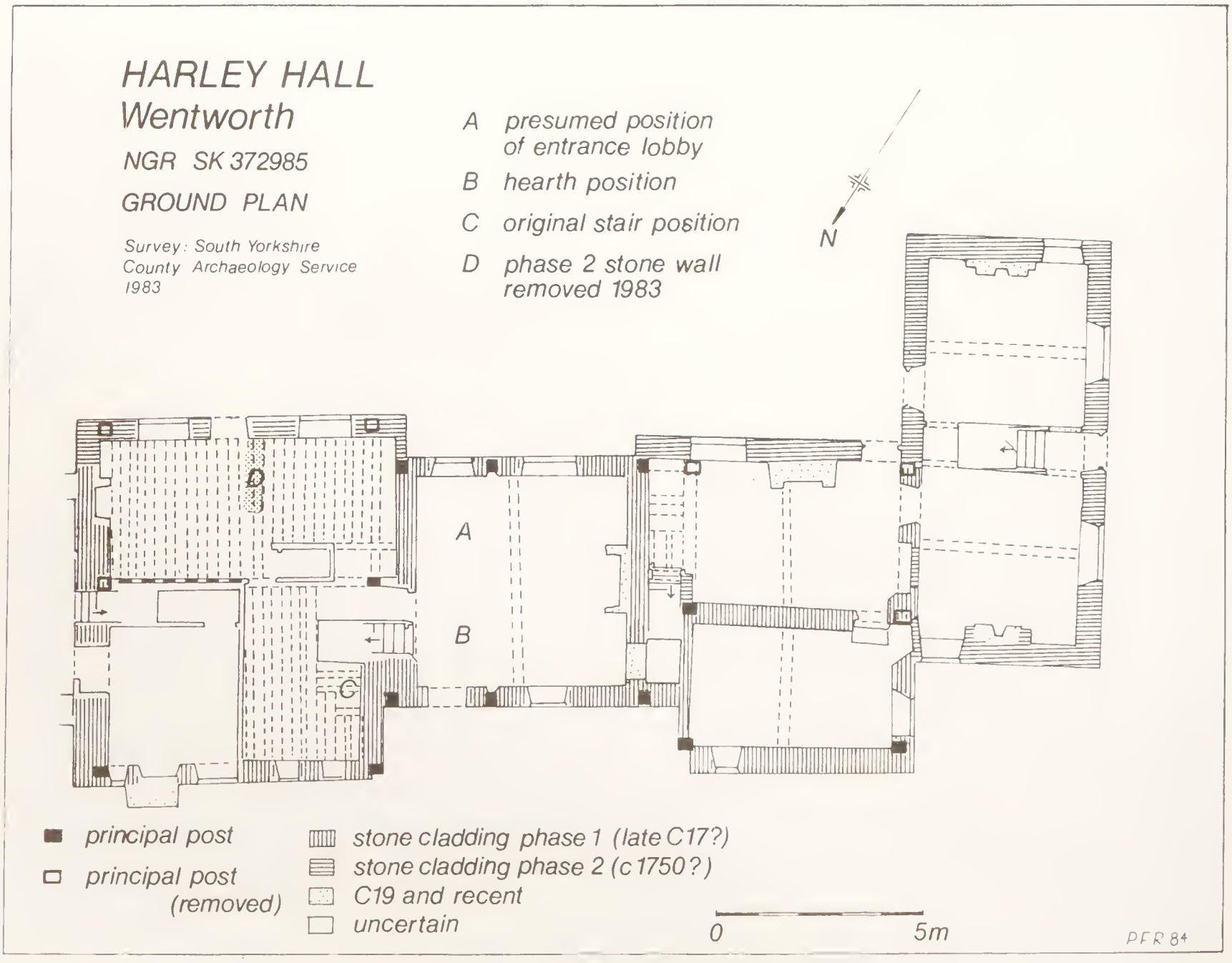


Fig. 5. Harley Hall: ground plan.

Plate 6. Harley Hall, Low Harley: view from N.

smoke blackening which one might expect with an open hearth.

The position of the entrance to the original house poses some problems. The length of the eastern bay of the hall would appear insufficient to admit a traditional cross passage behind the hearth (which presumably must have been provided with some sort of reredos wall). Entry might have conceivably been gained through the original east wing; the off-centre position of the hearth however suggests that there was some sort of lobby adjacent to it on the south, which could well have contained the main entrance to the house.

The interpretation of the layout of the house as originally planned is complicated by a remodelling which seems to have taken place late in the sixteenth century, probably after the house passed into the hands of the Wentworths (see below). Prior to this date it would appear that the house had possessed an eastern service wing (the east truss of the hall was open, as if it had stood against the wall of an adjacent wing, whilst the hall ridge continued beyond the truss as if to join the roof of such a wing). This wing was replaced by another of more prestigious nature obviously intended to accommodate not the services but a parlour with the principal chamber or solar above.

As a result of this remodelling the house was functionally 'turned round', with the former parlour/solar wing at the west end of the hall becoming the service wing. The northern truss of the new wing was of king-post form, to balance that of the west wing

Plate 7. Harley Hall: view from S.

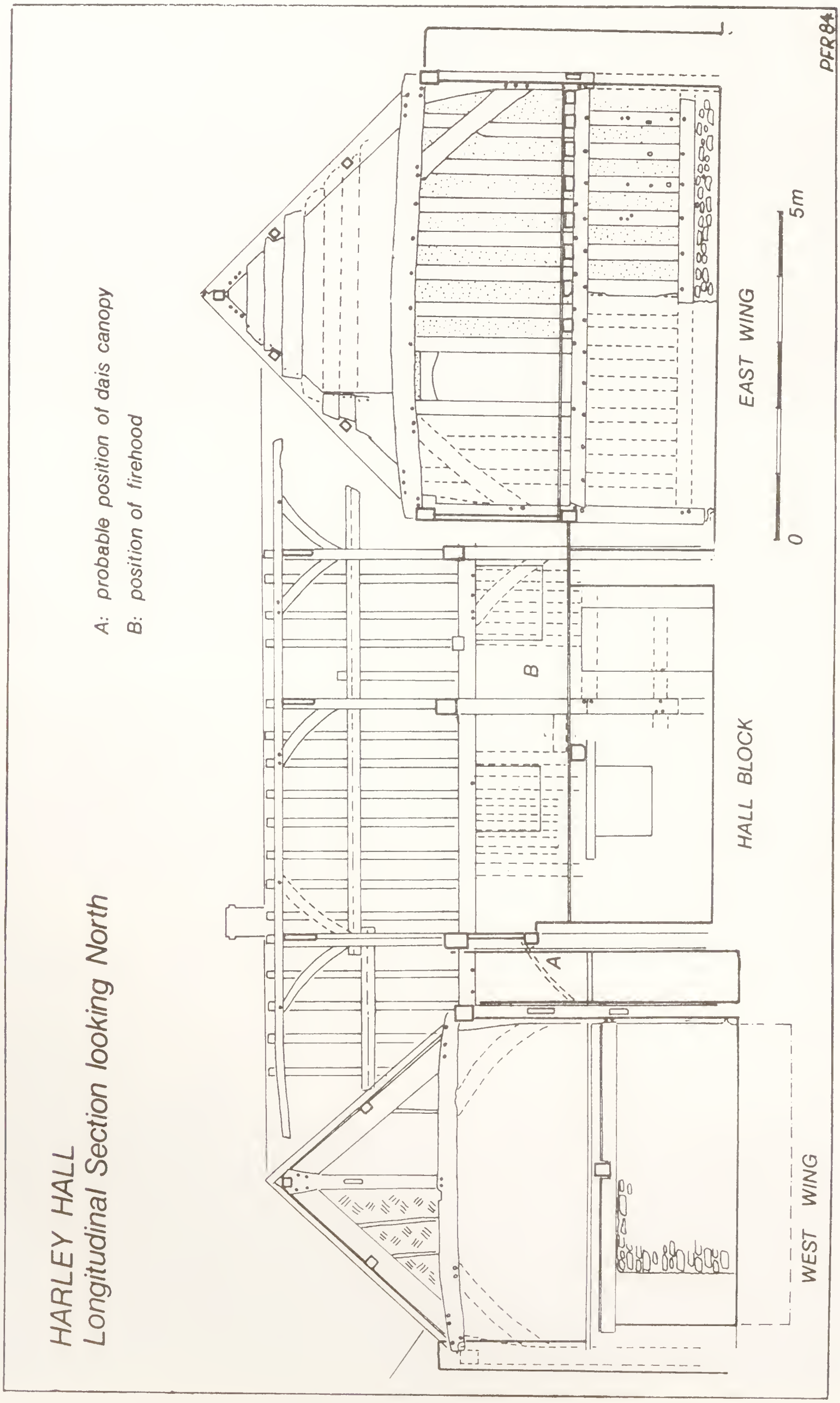


Fig. 6. Harley Hall: long section.

as seen in the still impressive north elevation, but the central truss is of quite different form showing features quite alien to the local timber-framing tradition. There is no king-post, the principal rafters being linked by a deep yoke or collar (an almost cruck-like feature) just below the apex. The two purlins on each roof slope, and the ridge, are simply butted up to the faces of the principals — elsewhere in South Yorkshire the trenched purlin appears to be universal in principal rafter roofs. Below the tie-beam, the truss retains most of its original infill, at ground floor level a stud partition dividing the parlour (on the south) from the room behind, and at first floor level a taller range of studs (the infill between being stone slates set on edge and slotted down grooves in the edge of the studs, coated over with a 'stucco duro' good-quality plaster consisting of lime wash and brick dust, without any hair) broken by a segmental-headed doorway giving access from the head of the stair in the northern bay — the original floor joists survive with the stair trap — into the principal chamber.

The principal chamber was lit by a wide oriel window on the south (which seems to have become the main front after the remodelling) with some form of sliding shutter arrangement behind it, evidenced by a long groove in the soffit of the tie-beam of the southern truss, the only member to survive the later rebuilding of the gable in stone. Some remains of the chamber's mural decoration survive — the studs of the north wall have been painted alternately red/orange and blue/green, the absence of a stud in the door position being compensated for by a vertical band of blue/green on the door head, doubtless continued down the original door. The faces of the tie-beams of the two trusses bear a simple repeated pattern in black and white of a stylised leaf supported on an upper rail and falling over a lower, a motif common in early seventeenth-century embroidery. The paint used is a water-soluble distemper.[10]

Harley Hall, thus remodelled, appears to have remained a house of quite reasonable status into the mid-seventeenth century, to judge from a brick stack built onto the east wing at this time. An attractive first-floor fireplace with a pointed arch survives, heating the painted chamber. Only mutilated fragments of the parlour fireplace below survived, and have now been replaced by a stone successor. However, when the house was remodelled in stone, late in the seventeenth or early in the eighteenth century, its status clearly declined and it was divided into two separate dwellings. The hall was floored over when its walls were rebuilt in stone, the firehood being replaced by a hearth built against the west wall. Further alterations took place in the mid-18th century, when the south end of each wing was rebuilt and extended laterally beyond the line of the old side walls. The eastward extension of the south end of the west wing probably housed a hearth — at ground floor level all evidence of this has been subsequently removed, but at first floor level the former flue remains as a small chamber, the only access to which was a hatch 0.6 m square in its west wall, directly beneath the wall-plate of the timber-framed wing which remains 'in situ'. When broken into for the first time in many years in 1977 this little room (now termed 'the priest hole') was found to contain a great number of old shoes and pieces of leatherwork of late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century type. At the same time as the south end of the wings were widened, the south-west block was added, very much a complete house in itself, with two rooms on each floor, a central stair and 'Yorkshire light' sliding windows. Virtually every timber in this new block is a re-used piece from an earlier timber-framed building. Most of the rafters have notches for collars, i.e. they are derived from a building of 'Lowland' carpentry with a coupled rafter roof — perhaps the predecessor of the sixteenth-century house, left standing as an outbuilding.

Later alterations (many of them erased by the recent restoration) were connected with the further sub-division of the house into cottages and were of little interest.

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10. For information regarding the painting I am indebted to Mr. D. Bostwick, of Sheffield City Museum.

Historical Note

In the later medieval period Harley Hall was the seat of the Hauslin family, who seem to have been among the more minor gentry. It passed from their hands on 1st August 1567 when Thomas Hauslin sold the 'capital messuage and farmhold called Harlaye' to Thomas Wentworth of Wentworth for £186.13*s*.4*d*[11] and the property became part of the Wentworth Estates remaining so for over four centuries.

Brampton Hall, Brampton Bierlow, (Plates 8, 9; Figs. 7, 8).

As far as is known, no other timber-framed house in South Yorkshire has been examined and recorded as thoroughly as Brampton hall. The opportunity for this investigation came in 1981-3 when the house was restored and partly rebuilt to form a public house and restaurant, the hall block being stripped down to its basic frame. This work has allowed the internal arrangements of the timber-framed house, at least in its late-sixteenth-century form, to be reconstructed in some detail.

The hall stands in the centre of the old village of Brampton, now only recognizeable as a scatter of eighteenth and nineteenth-century houses and farm buildings surrounded by spreading modern development. The house stands close to the north side of Manor Lane with its former farm buildings extending north to the south side of the B6089, Brampton Road.

The earliest part of the house is the one surviving bay of the north wing, which shows fairly standard 'Highland' carpentry perhaps of *c*.1500, having a king-post roof and walls with panels of diagonal studding. The remaining bay, 4.3 m by 5.2 m internally, appears to have been the westernmost of three; the ridge still continues 1.95 m beyond the eastern truss to end in the remains of a scarf joint, which would probably have been centrally placed in the original wing. The fact that the southern end of the tie-beam of the eastern truss is left square rather than being cut to the slope of the roof seems good evidence that the wing was built to stand against a contemporary or earlier hall block. The surviving

Plate 8. Brampton Hall, Brampton Bierlow: view from SW. in 1978.

11. Fitzwilliam Estate Records.

bay was originally single-storied, and may well have served as a kitchen from the first. There are some evidences to suggest an early stone stack built against the west gable of the wing. The range of close studding between the tie-beam and bressumer of the eastern truss survives largely intact, with a fine series of carpenter's numbers.

No evidence has been traced of the plan or extent of the remainder of the house to which the wing belonged, any archaeological deposits beneath it being removed when the site was levelled for the erection of the new hall block and south wing, probably in 1576. The only clue to the nature of the earlier building is seen in a number of re-used rafters with notches for collars.

Whereas at Harley Hall the rebuilding of the east wing late in the sixteenth century introduced a number of structural details quite alien to the area, at Brampton the new hall block showed innovation not in its structure — quite standard king-post trusses were used — but in its overall form, a two-bay structure with an aisle or outshut on the west, 7.4 m by 7.5 m internally, two-storeyed throughout from the first and with a lobby entrance on the east side of a massive stone stack.

The hall entrance, at the north-east corner, was covered by a porch which was almost certainly two-storeyed, set in the re-entrant angle between the hall and north wing. Both the hall and the large first-floor chamber above were lit by large windows on the east. The form of that on the first floor — the ground floor window was probably similar — has been tentatively reconstructed from surviving evidences on the principal post and wall-plate still 'in situ' and from several re-used members. It would appear to have been 3.4 m wide, set centrally in the elevation between the projecting porch and south wing (and thus spanning the east post of the central hall block truss) and being of 28 lights, divided by ovolo-section mullions and a transom. The windows appear to have been flanked by panels of some type of decorative framing, although their exact form is not clear.

The hall had a ceiling of neatly-chamfered axial joists, carried on the bressumers of the trusses, and was heated by a large fireplace centrally placed on the north wall. This had splayed and chamfered stone jambs which carried a massive oak lintel which in turn

Plate 9. Brampton Hall: view from SW, during restoration, 1983.

supported the structure of the fire hood above. On the west side of the fireplace a doorway with its segmental-arched head cut into the soffit of the lintel beam gave access into the kitchen and probably also to the foot of the stair to the first-floor chamber, which was set in the northern bay of the aisle. The doorway into the kitchen from the lobby was constructed by the somewhat high-handed procedure of cutting away the lower half of the southern principal post of the truss at the east end of the kitchen and carrying its upper part on the lintel of the new door (admittedly a substantial section of another principal post re-used from elsewhere) which in turn was supported by stout jamb studs. At the south end of the hall would be a doorway into the principal parlour, which probably occupied the ground floor of the eastern bay of the south wing. Access to the western

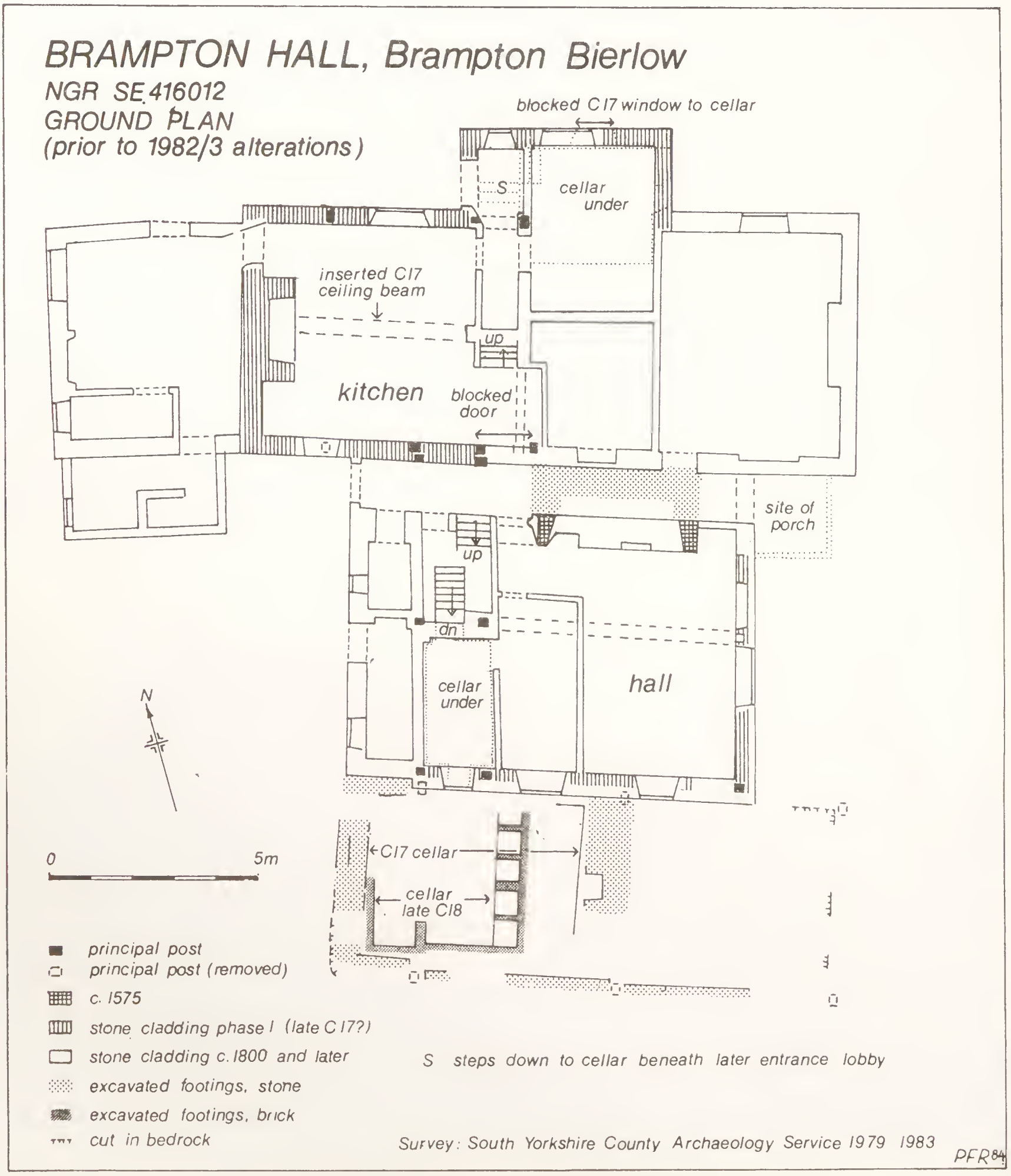

Fig. 7. Brampton Hall: ground plan.

ground floor room in the south wing may either have been from the hall or from the southern bay of the aisle, which may have served as a buttery.

The first-floor chamber above the hall was entered from the stair by a doorway set centrally in the west wall of the northern bay. The present fireplace in the chamber, with its timber lintel and chamfered stone jambs very much a smaller scale version of that which heated the hall below, is almost certainly coeval with the structure but from several features, e.g. its hearth being carried on a re-used timber resting on stonework carried by the lintel beam of the hall fireplace, which originally supported a wooden structure, can be seen to be 'ex situ'. Its original position would appear to have been in the north-west corner of the chamber close to the entrance door — cuts on the southern face of the northern truss of the block show that at first floor level the hood only occupied the western half of the bay, with a stack which rose to the west of the ridge. Unfortunately the form of this somewhat unusual hood and stack cannot be reconstructed in detail. The first floor fireplace showed remains of a painted pattern on its stone jambs in red/brown and white, to simulate brickwork (remains of red paintwork also survive on the jambs of the hall fireplace and the principal posts of the block). The paintwork on the jambs of the upper fireplace was accidentally destroyed during the recent restoration.

Much of the framing of the upper part of the aisle walls survived until the restoration, and has now been replaced by new timber. The wall was of close-studded construction with stone slate infill, each bay having had a central four-light window, its head formed by the wall-plate and its sill set 0.7 m below. The wall-plate of the northern bay (which survives 'in situ') contains the only example of a scarf joint in the building, of a stop-splayed form with bridled butts and two edge pegs on the bridling's diagonals. An interesting detail is seen in the manner in which the wall stud beneath the northern butt was secured to the plate; a conventional mortice-and-tenon here would have interfered with the scarf, so a triangular-section chock was nailed to the plate soffit and the stud provided with a grooved head which could be slid into position over the chock.

The southern cross wing was demolished prior to 1854,[12] but some evidences of its form can be gained both from the surviving southern truss of the hall block and from the results of excavations carried out on the site in 1982 and 1983. The wing was of two bays, each 4.6 m by 5 m. with its wall-plates at a higher level than those of the hall, with which it appears to have been contemporary. A cross wall on the line of the central truss, 1.2 m thick, contained a fireplace at least on its west side — it is difficult to determine whether this is an original feature.

In common with most timber-framed houses in the area, the external walls of Brampton Hall were rebuilt in stone at some time during the seventeenth century. The house was brought into line with contemporary standards by having its open kitchen bay floored over and the rather complicated firehood in the hall block replaced by a simpler central stone stack. A new door was cut through the framing of both hall block and wing from the stairhead lobby in the hall aisle into the new chamber above the kitchen. Within a century this door was blocked up again, as the house was divided into two dwellings. The stone-built north wing may have been added when the structure was divided, perhaps to serve as a stair wing to the northern house, with a cellar in its base lighted by a two-light mullioned window. A large cellar beneath the western bay of the south wing may be of the same date. In the later 18th century this second cellar was reduced in size and vaulted in brick.

A second major remodelling seems to have taken place early in the nineteenth century. The south wing and porch were demolished, the walls of the hall block refaced in

12. 1st edition Ordnance Survey 6in:1 mile map.

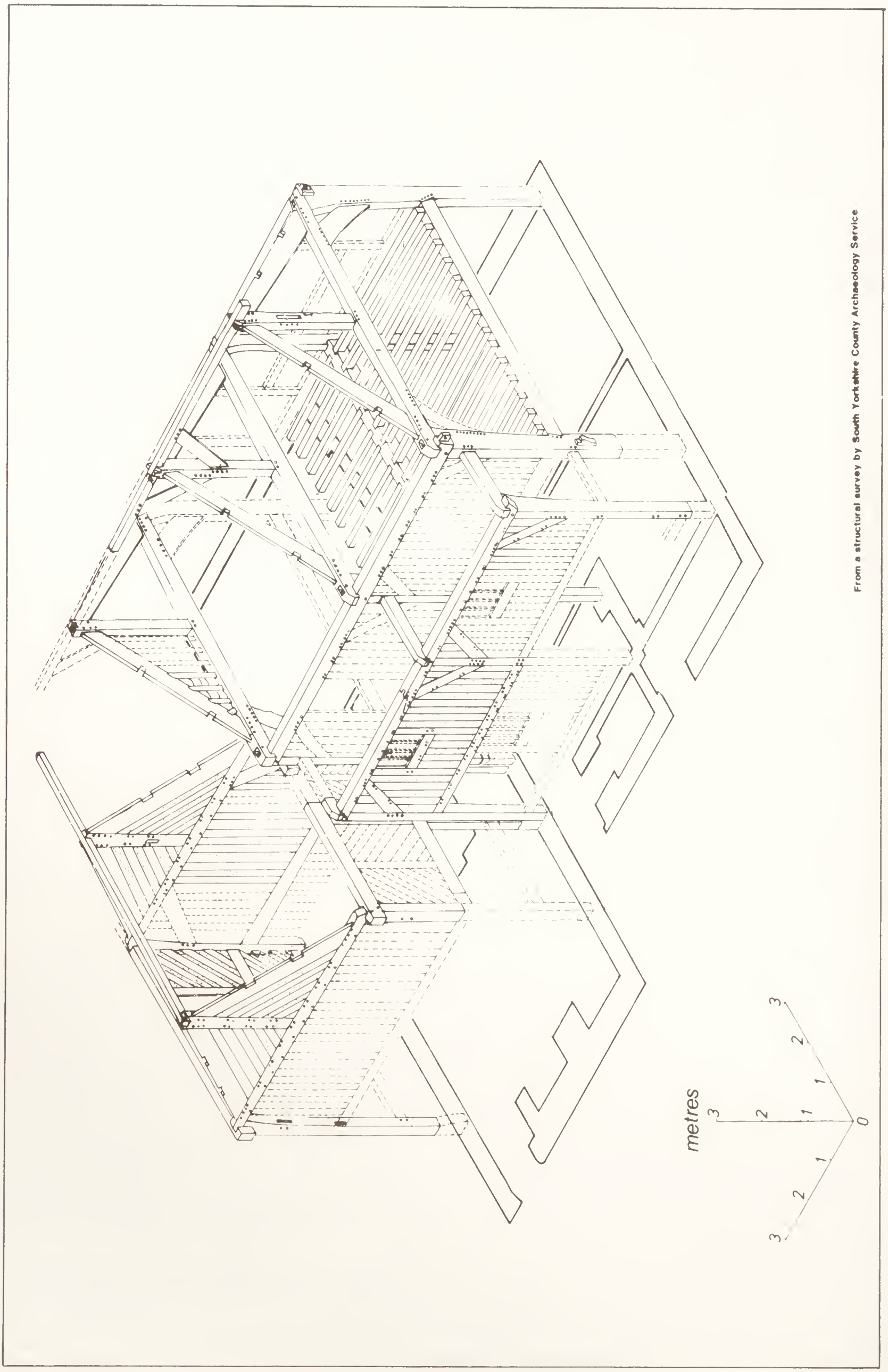

Fig. 8. Brampton Hall: isometric drawing from SW.

hammer-dressed stone and the eastern section of the north wing completely rebuilt, producing a building whose external appearance (Plate 8) betrayed little of its structural complexity and nothing of the sixteenth-century timber-framed structure which survived encased within its walls.

Historical Notes and Dendrochronological Dating.

In the later medieval period Brampton Hall appears to have been held by the Brome family, a John Brome of Brampton occurring in a quitclaim of 1413 with the prior of Monk Bretton.[13] John de Brome of the parish of Wath, draper, is recorded in 1465[14] and a third John Brome of Brampton in 1502 and 1503.[15] By the 16th century, when the present house was built, the family were aspiring to some status — Stephen Brome of Brampton, 'gentleman' is recorded in 1588.[16]

The earliest reference to the Hall itself is in 1609, when Henry Brome of Calnton (Caunton), Nottinghamshire and his son Thomas Brome of Brampton sold the capital messuage of Brampton Hall, along with two cottages, meadow and common lands in Brampton and two beastgates on the inpasture of Wath on Dearne, to Thomas Waynewright of Lee Hall, Wath on Dearne, for £800.[17] In 1613 Waynewright sold the Hall, described as being in the separate occupations of Lawrence Hicks and Elizabeth Wildsmith, to John Ellis of Barnsley.[18] The Ellis family held the Hall for some years. George Ellis (1627-1712) was well known as a local benefactor to charitable causes, building and later extending Brampton School. He is buried in Wath on Dearne parish church.[19]

The house was still known as Brampton Hall in 1930.[20] In recent years, when owned by Fitzwilliam Estates and divided into two tenements, it was more usually referred to as nos. 2 and 2a Manor Lane. The southern part of the house remained occupied until the property was sold to Rotherham Metropolitan Borough Council in 1978 who planned to demolish all buildings on the site. Some months later the Hall was given statutory protection as a listed building, a circumstance which aroused some controversy. After lying derelict and vandalised for three years the Hall was restored as a public house and restaurant; the remains of the timber-framed structure have been exposed and conserved, although the interior of the building has been completely remodelled and most of the stone walls rebuilt from ground level.

During restoration work in 1982, the County Archaeology Service were able to obtain a number of samples from structural timbers throughout the building, and these were examined at the HBMC Dendrochronology Laboratory at Sheffield University in 1984.[21] One sample, from the upper purlin of the roof of the hall block, retained its full complement of sapwood rings, the outermost of which was dated to AD 1576, giving a felling date in late 1576 or early 1557. Other samples, from the principal and aisle posts, and hood bressumer, had no sapwood, and gave a terminus post quem for felling of 1550; allowing for the removal of their sapwood and a few heartwood rings, a 1576 felling date would seem quite acceptable. Samples from the cross wing were unfortunately unsuitable for dating.

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13. Sheffield City Library Local History Collection, records deposited by Newman and Bond, Solicitors, of Barnsley. Cat. No. NBC 129.
14. Ibid. NBC 139.
15. Ibid. NBC 142 and 143.
16 Ibid. NBC 163.
17. Ibid. NBC 165
18. Ibid. NBC 168
19. J. Hunter 1831, op. cit. Vol. II, 74.
20. Ordnance Survey 25in.: 1 mile map, 1930.
21. Private communication from Miss J. Hillam, 1984.

THE HOUSES IN THEIR CONTEXT: TIMBER BUILDING TRADITION IN SOUTH YORKSHIRE

The five buildings described in this article serve to illustrate the wide variety of types of post-and-truss house to be found in South Yorkshire. Diversity rather than unity characterizes the 200-300 framed buildings so far recorded within the modern county. In addition there are over 100 examples of cruck-framed buildings, their date range overlapping with but extending beyond that of the post-and-truss structures.

In seeking to explain the unusual variety of building types and styles which characterizes South Yorkshire timber buildings of the period 1450-1600, two major factors must be considered; the social class of the builder and the prevalent tradition of carpentry in that locality at that time. The first would appear to be the main influence upon house plan, and has been the subject of recent research in both North and West Yorkshire, but the second is less well understood. At least three distinct traditions occur, and at times appear to flourish side by side, in the century and a half to which almost all the surviving timber buildings can be ascribed. How these relate to the class of the builder, and to different dates within the overall period, will be explored as far as the evidence at present allows.

Plan forms and the Class of Builder.

Late medieval houses can be divided fairly easily into two major groups, gentry houses and those erected by various classes of yeomen. In most areas, and South Yorkshire is no exception, well-preserved examples at both ends of the social scale are rare. Major gentry houses have usually been rebuilt to such an extent that their medieval form is no longer apparent, whilst the dwellings of the lower ranks (i.e. about 80 per cent of the total population) were generally neither of a form or materials liable to survive for more than a century or so.

Major gentry houses in South Yorkshire were more often built of stone than of timber. Prestige obviously influenced this choice of material, along with consideration of defence which may have influenced the courtyard plan seen in the Bosvile seat of New Hall, Darfield, and in the fragmentary remains of Denaby Old Hall. Both these houses had ranges with walls of stone externally and framed towards the courtyard, carrying king-post roofs probably of late fifteenth-century date. At New Hall the hall had a massive lateral stack,a high-status feature seen on a smaller scale in the suviving west range of Broomhall in Sheffield, which was probably a fully-framed house on the hall and cross wings plan. Lateral stacks also occur in two small but high-status stone houses, the Old Rectory at Campsall (a rich living in the centre of Barnsdale Forest, notorious for its medieval outlawry; a situation which explains the appearance of a defensible first-floor hall as late as the fifteenth century) and the Savile hunting lodge in Tankersley Park, forming the nucleus of the later Elizabethan mansion now reduced to a fragmentary ruin alongside the M1.

Turning to the houses of the lesser gentry, where economics dictated a more general use of timber framing, too few examples survive of pre-1450 houses to make generalisations about their plan. The 4 bays in line layout of the Woodall house may represent a once-common type. In the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the 'H' plan of open hall flanked by cross-wings became common and is seen in a number of houses of similar status — Harley Hall, Housely Hall at Chapeltown, Oughtibridge Hall and Swaithe Hall in Worsbrough Dale.

Yeoman houses in South Yorkshire, the product of a group whom increased regional prosperity allowed to build in permanent materials for the first time, can be divided into four classes;

(i) Hall and cross wing houses, similar to the smaller residences built by the minor gentry, but usually having only a single cross wing. These are represented by a group in

the west of the county. The open hall was retained surprisingly late in some cases, such as at Guilthwaite Grange, dendro-dated to 1597±9, and in the stone-built seventeenth-century Upper Tankersley Farmhouse. The cross wing, with first floor solar, would be situated at the 'high' end of the hall, with a service bay behind the hearth and cross passage entry. Green Farm at Stocksbridge, now demolished, was probably originally of this form, with its wing rebuilt in stone in 1711. Bishop's House in Meersbrook Park, Sheffield, is an easily accessible and well preserved example. This type persisted into the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century; The Golden Cross at Cawthorne and, further east, Butterbusk Farm at Conisbrough, are late members of this group.

(ii) Aisled houses. Two distinct groups of late medieval aisled houses, the Halifax-type halls of West Yorkshire[22] and the North Yorkshire 'Vale of York' houses[23] have attracted recent attention. Both are usually single-aisled; the Halifax halls show hearth passage entrances, often have cross wings, and span both Highland and Lowland traditions of carpentry, whilst the Vale of York houses usually have lobby entrances, rarely cross wings, and are generally in the Lowland style. The former group can be ascribed to the period 1450-1525, whilst the latter originate in the late medieval period but persist, as a plan form, into the seventeenth century and beyond the end of timber-framing in the area.

Although two examples are included in the five houses described in this article, aisled house plans are not well represented in South Yorkshire. The Barnby Hall house fits in well with the Halifax group, probably having been shorn of a cross wing. A second possible example of this type has been recorded at Townhead, Stannington, where the largely-rebuilt hall block would seem from its plan to have been provided with an aisle on the north; the cross wing is stone built with a king-post roof of relatively early (late fifteenth century?) type. Brampton Hall is a quite different building, perhaps a century later in date. Here the hall block, two-storeyed from the first, is much more akin to a Vale of York house, albeit a little unusual in its employment of Highland carpentry, tackled onto a cross-wing surviving from an earlier building.

In North Yorkshire Harrison and Hutton suggest that the origins of the Vale of York houses may lie in a group of earlier medieval aisled gentry houses,[24] but the gap between the two types, in terms of both time and status, is considerable; continuing fieldwork and the use of dendrochronology may shed further light on this area.

The origins of the Halifax aisled halls are even less clear. In South Yorkshire Crossroad Cottage at Sutton retained one truss of a hall block with aisles on both sides; typologically early features included passing braces, suggesting a possible fourteenth-century date. Aisled barns were of course certainly in use by this time, Whiston Hall Long Barn being a good example, perhaps as early as the thirteenth century in date.[25]

Despite the paucity of timber-framed examples, the single-aisled house plan is well represented in South Yorkshire by seventeenth-century stone buildings in which a timber arcade of two or three bays divides the body of the house from a rear outshut. Recorded examples, e.g. Whitehouse Farm at Stannington, Hollin Busk Farmhouse above Deepcar and a cluster of houses around Cawthorne, are mostly in parishes on the fringe of the Pennines, a distribution pattern which might suggest that the type is a development from the Halifax-type halls. These stone houses all however have lobby

22. F. Atkinson & R. W. McDowall 1967. 'Aisled Houses in the Halifax Area'. *The Antiquaries Journal 47*, 77-94.
23. B. Hutton 1973. 'Timber Framed Houses in the Vale of York'. *Med. Arch.* 17, 87-99; and also B. Harrison & B. Hutton 1984. *Vernacular Houses in North Yorkshire and Cleveland*, Edinburgh, John Donald Ltd. 28-38.
24. *Ibid.* 22, 38.
25. S. R. Jones. Whiston Hall Barn. *Arch. J. 137*, (1980), pp. 431-433.

entrances alongside the hearth, which is set against one gable end, an arrangement not seen in the county before the later sixteenth century.

(iii) The three or four bays in line plan. Netherfold Farmhouse is very much the type example; other similar houses survive in nearby Scholes village, in Aston, and in the far south-east of the county at The Old Smithy in Gildingwells. All these show Lowland carpentry; the group may in fact be the Lowland equivalent of the small hall and cross wing houses further west, or may represent a type one step down the social scale. Also into this plan type fall one or two cruck-framed houses such as Pond Farmhouse in Stannington and perhaps 2-6 Town End Road, Ecclesfield (an unusual building with a close-studded front wall, rare in cruck buildings; its plan may also be interpreted as a pair of two-bay houses). The three or four bays in line plan may well be derived from earlier medieval high-status houses such as that at Woodall.

(iv) Smaller houses. A group represented by a scatter of usually two-bay houses, often cruck-framed. Rarely well preserved, such humble structures probably represent the dwellings of husbandmen rather than yeomen.

There is an interesting group of cruck buildings in which domestic and agricultural accommodation appear to have been provided within a single structure; whether these were long houses in the true sense of the word (i.e. people and animals sharing a common entrance) is uncertain, as in all cases the original plan form has been obscured by later alterations, but such an interpretation would seem highly likely. In some cases, such as Stumperlowe Cottage at Fulwood, the cruck frame survives relatively intact, housing a one-bay cottage and a three-bay barn; in others the end bay of what is today a barn will show evidence of former domestic use (e.g. Hall Broom Barn at Dungworth, and the interesting example at Nether Mill, Penistone, in which the north end truss of the cruck barn, unique in the county in that the blades terminate in a horizontal tie just above purlin level, preserves remains of a six-light window. In a third group a similar original arrangement is suggested by the present day juxtaposition of a cruck-framed barn or byre and a house rebuilt in stone in the seventeenth or eighteenth century (e.g. Oaks Fold, Shiregreen and a farm on Ecclesfield High Street). This house/barn combination is seen in an unusual higher-status form at Kidfield House, Hoyland Swaine, where a two-bay post and truss house forms what is in effect a cross wing at the south end of a fine 16th-century aisled barn; this peculiar arrangement may not be representative of a widespread type, although it is tempting to see it as a precursor of the later laithe houses of the area.

Further east, on and beyond the Coal Measures, the probable equivalent of the humbler cruck houses is seen in a number of small post and truss houses of relatively poor quality, a similar situation to that is West Yorkshire.[26] The Manor House at Austerfield, despite its name, would appear to have originated as a simple house of two bays, one open to the roof and the other floored, a structure retained as a cross wing when the present hall block of somewhat inferior timber was added in the seventeenth century. Further fieldwork will doubtless reveal more small framed houses such as this, especially in villages such as Harthill. Here a large number of old cottages and small farmhouses survive, all set at right angles to the street. No. 70-72 Union Street is a typical example which has been examined in detail; the original house here seems to have been a single-bay structure with a common rafter roof and a stone stack built outside one gable end.

Traditions of Carpentry.

The diversity of regional traditions in medieval carpentry has long been realised. Twenty

26. pers. comm. C. Giles.

years ago J. T. Smith suggested that three basic 'schools' existed in England;[27] the South-Eastern (characterized by close studding, tension braces and common rafter roofs), the Western (characterized by square panelling and angle braces) and the Northern (characterized by the interrupted sill and the king-post roof). The buildings so far recorded in South Yorkshire are all 'Northern' in that the use of the interrupted sill is general, but beyond that any uniformity breaks down. Two basic traditions of post and truss buildings can be recognised, the 'Highland', using king-post and other principal rafter roof forms, usually accompanied by close studding, and the 'Lowland' characterized by common rafter roofs of various types, often associated with rather lighter wall framing. The third coeval and quite separate tradition is of course that of cruck building, distinct not only in its use of cruck trusses but in its employment of halving rather than mortice-and-tenon joints.

Geographically, South Yorkshire is very much the sort of area in which one might expect to find a mixture of building traditions. The Pennines in the west are a typical highland environment, contrasting with the marshes around the Humber in the north-east; the middle ground between was transversed by the major north-south trade route on the eastern side of the country.

Looking at a distribution map of different building types in the county, two points are immediately apparent.[28] The division between the cruck-rich west and the virtually cruck-free east of the county is a surprisingly sharp line, whereas the division between Highland and Lowland styles of post and truss building is much less clear; Highland buildings are concentrated in the west and north, whilst Lowland structures are scattered throughout the area.

Lowland Buildings

Lowland buildings in South Yorkshire are characterized by the use of a range of common rafter roof types. No extant example from before *c.*1300 is at present known, although evidence in the form of re-used timbers points to a collared rafter roof over the Whiston Hall Long Barn, and to a more elaborate roof, perhaps with scissor braces, at Beech House, Little Houghton. The Woodall house shows the use of a crown-post roof in the later fourteenth century, a roof type more common, in the North of England, in urban settings. The only town in South Yorkshire to preserve a substantial number of framed houses is Tickhill, where at least two crown-post roofs survive. Three others have been recorded north of Sheffield, at West Hall Fold, Wentworth, Housely Hall in Chapeltown,and over a now-demolished house on Ecclesfield High Street. The first two of these roofs occur over the solar wings of gentry houses of relatively early (early fifteenth-century?) date; a similar scatter of roofs of this type over the solar wings of later medieval gentry houses occurs in West Yorkshire. Incidentally, both West Hall Fold and Housely hall also have king-post roofs, at the former over the east wing (the hall block has been demolished) and at the latter over the hall.

The roof of Netherfold Farmhouse, with its curving struts rising from the tie beams to clasp side purlins against the underside of the rafters, is another form often seen in late medieval Northern town houses, e.g. in York and Ripon. Several other examples have been recorded in South Yorkshire, in both rural (Barnby Hall Farm, a house in Scholes village, and a number of barns) and urban (The Old Three Cranes on Rotherham High Street) settings.

Simple collar rafter roofs without purlins also occur, including two examples quite

27. J. T. Smith 1965. 'Timber-Framed Building in England', *Arch, J., 122,* pp. 133-158.
28. P. F. Ryder (1978) *Timber-Framed Buildings in South Yorkshire* County Archaeology Monograph No. 1), p.93.

high in the Pennines, Scholes Hill at Penistone and Dean Head Farmhouse.

The wall framing of the majority of the Lowland buildings in the county appears to have been of relatively light studding or of relatively large undivided panels; whether this is related to the school of carpentry, or the status of the buildings is not clear. Most of the Lowland buildings in which evidence of the original wall framing has been recorded are of yeoman or lower status; the early Woodall house had close-studded walls.

Highland Buildings

Quite a large number of houses, often of minor gentry status, retain substantial king-post roofs firmly within the Highland tradition. The earlier examples, such as those already referred to at Town Head in Stannington. Housely Hall and West Hall Fold, all have relatively slender king posts with little jowelling at the head. Later forms, such as that over the hall in the Golden Cross at Cawthorne, and that of the great Gunthwaite Barn, tend to have heavier posts more broadly jowelled at the head, carrying roofs of somewhat lower pitch and often employing raking struts from tie-beam to principal. The former examples are all of fifteenth-century date; Gunthwaite Barn is thought to be of *c.*1550, and the hall of The Golden Cross is a rebuild, perhaps of *c.*1600, of an earlier Lowland structure from which the cross wing, dendro-dated to 1537±9, survives. Occasional king-post roofs are to be found in the east of the county, such as that over the barn at Eastfield Farm, Tickhill, where it is associated with Lowland elements such as tension braces and relatively light studding. A similar roof with a slender untapered king-post from a house at Worksop, just over the Nottinghamshire border, has given a dendro-date of 1499.±[29]

Towards the end of the sixteenth century the king-post roof began to be replaced by simple principal rafter forms, often with raking struts. This was obviously a more convenient form where attic space was required. Good examples survive over the east wing at Houndhill, and in an urban setting over the jettied three-storey front block at The Old Three Cranes in Rotherham. A few late king-post roofs persisted, usually over large or high-status buildings, beyond the end of the local timber-franing tradition, e.g. Flash House Barn near Cawthorne, dated 1698, and the stable block at Gunthwaite Hall dated 1699.

A number of Highland houses in the county demonstrate the expression of wall framing as a decorative feature, although never to the extent of contemporary houses west of the Pennines. Chevron-framed panels occur in many houses (including Bishop's House, Brampton Hall, Houndhill and Swaithe Hall) and also in two high-status barns (Gunthwaite and Kidfield House). Gable trusses set forward from the line of the wall face beneath (e.g. the west wing at Harley Hall) and windows similarly treated typify the better-quality houses. A little more elaboration is seen in the carved bargeboards at Broomhall and in the detailing of the jettied street fronts of The Old Queen's Head in Sheffield and St.Leonard's Hospital in Tickhill. More ornate houses are known only from old illustrations; Carbrook Hall in Attercliffe and Gawber Hall near Barnsley, the latter a fine hall and cross wings house having a two-storey porch with decorative quadrant bracing, chevron-framed partitions and cusped roof principals.

Cruck Building

Whilst this article is mainly concerned with domestic buildings of post and truss construction, a consideration of the parallel tradition of cruck framing cannot be omitted. Documentary evidence shows that cruck construction was already in use in the North of England in the later medieval period and that, in North Yorkshire at any rate,

29. J. Hillam 1980. *List of tree-ring dates. Vernacular Architecture 11*, p. 23.

the dividing line between cruck and non-cruck areas was already established by the middle of the fifteenth century.[30] In South Yorkshire, around 120 cruck buildings are known to survive; rather less than a quarter of these are houses and cottages, the majority of the remainder, barns.

Cruck-built houses and cottages in North and West Yorkshire are generally on a small scale and lacking in architectural detail, and their plans have already been considered. A handful of South Yorkshire cruck houses are buildings of rather higher quality; Pond Farmhouse at Stannington has its two-bay open hall spanned by a truss with an octagonal oak post, decorative rather than functional, rising from tie-beam to collar; the remains of what was probably another four-bay house at Tom Hill, Dungworth, show carpentry of a markedly higher standard than that of the numerous cruck barns in the area, whilst what was previously interpreted as a two-bay cottage at Windhill Farm, Bolsterstone, can now be shown to have been built as a storeyed cross wing to a hall block, destroyed by fire last century. Whether any of these buildings date from before *c.* 1500 is uncertain, but they are almost certainly earlier than the majority of the South Yorkshire cruck barns, quite a number of which accompany seventeenth-century stone-built houses with which they are probably contemporary.

The cruck buildings within the county mostly appear as members of a single quite unified tradition, having curving blades of quite heavy scantling, heavy purlins and ridge pieces, halving joints quite frequently notched, and the use of apex types A, C and D;[31] no individual apex type seems to show any special distribution or relationship with building form. The one sub-division of the cruck buildings which can be made quite easily is that based on wall construction; the majority had walls of studding (generally morticed but not pegged into the wall plates) but quite a sizeable group had side and even end walls of stone from the first. At first sight the two groups would appear to relate to construction before or after the general adoption of stone as a building material in the early 1600s. This may well be a correct diagnosis in the majority of cases, especially as regards the cruck barns, but a few stone-walled cruck houses probably belong to the group of hybrid timber-framed but stone-walled buildings which were being built in the early sixteenth century (see below).

Hybrid Buildings

The majority of South Yorkshire's timber-framed buildings can be classified quite easily into one of the three traditions outlined above; however, two interesting groups of 'hybrid' buldings occur. The first is of structures which show a fusion of elements characteristic of one or other of the three framing traditions, whilst the second shows the use of stone as a walling material in conjunction with a full-height timber frame. A study of these two groups throws a little light on the dating of, and relationship between, the major traditions.

A small group of buildings occur which can be classed as hybrids between conventioal Highland and Lowland types. The surviving west wing at Broomhall is a good example, Highland in its carpentry except that the heavy king-posts have never carried any ridge. The wing has been dendro-dated to 1507±9, with purlins and presumably also the rafters being replaced in 1614; the original rafter pairs may perhaps have been linked by collars. Another ridgeless king-post roof, on a more humble scale, occurs over a three-bay house at 1 Chapel Yard in Harthill, which seems to have been stone walled from the first, and may date from the late sixteenth or earlier seventeenth century.

Old photographs record another hybrid roof form in which principal rafter collars,

30. Harrison & Hutton. *Op. cit.*, p. 6.
31. N. W. Alcock 1973. *A Catalogue of Cruck Buildings*. Phillimore.

found over the early-sixteenth century Long Gallery at Sheffield Manor House and at Oxspring Lodge, a small but sophisticated hunting lodge of the Bosviles, erected in the mid-sixteenth century. Broomhall, Sheffield Manor House and Oxspring Lodge were all buildings of high social status; their hybrid roof types may show that the skilled carpenters who served the gentry were adopting Highland techniques in the first half of the sixteenth century.

Lower down the social scale, a few isolated buildings embody elements of both post-and-truss and cruck traditions. The cruck-like yoke in the central truss of the east wing at Harley Hall, already mentioned, may have been a simple alternative to a king-post to allow unrestricted access through the attics. Houses with cruck-framed hall blocks and post and truss cross wings occur at Low Bromley Farmhouse and (formerly) at Dean Head; again the combination of forms may have been an expedient occasioned by the unsuitability of the cruck frame as regards the construction of storeyed accommodation.

An interesting feature of several of these buildings which are hybrids between different traditions of carpentry is that they also combine stone wall construction with a timber frame. Oxspring Lodge, known from a good collection of photographs taken early this century,[32] had a conventional frame carrying the floor timbers and roof structure, but the walls, of coursed rubble 0.8 m thick, were of full height. All that remains of the Lodge today are its footings and lower courses, partly buried in rubble.

The use of the interrupted sill, the hallmark of Smith's 'Northern' school of carpentry, implies the presence of a non-loadbearing plinth or sleeper wall. In some buildings the lowest horizontal member of the wall frame,the 'sill', may be set more than a metre above the base of the posts, and almost qualify to be classed as a rail. In Gunthwaite Hall Barn, another Bosvile building of roughly the same date as Oxspring Lodge, the side walls are of stone up to rather more than half height, with a series of chevron-framed panels above, whilst the end walls are of stone. In both the Lodge and Barn window and door opening have wooden frames, stone dressings being sparingly used.

The same hybrid timber/stone construction also appears in some houses of rather lower status. The cross wing of Low Bromley Farmhouse, prior to recent alterations, had two full-height trusses carrying a king-post roof, within stone external walls which extended for half a bay beyond each truss. The cross wings of Dean Head Farmhouse and the now-demolished Schole Hill at Penistone demonstrate a rather different form of hybrid construction; in each case the outer wall is of stone (carrying the end of the tie-beam, without any post or bracket) whilst the inner wall, towards the hall block, was fully framed. In each case the roof was of Lowland collared rafter form. The house at Barnby Hall Farm, along with several of the West Yorkshire aisled halls, may have had its aisle wall built of stone from the first; the south wall was of stone construction to mid-height. Stone walling also occurs in a number of cruck-framed buildings. The late group of barns has already been mentioned, but the surviving cross wing at Windhill Farm, which combines stone walls with cruck carpentry of as high a standard as any seen in the county, is probably a century earlier in date.

All the hybrid timber/stone buildings in South Yorkshire may probably be dated to the early or mid-sixteenth century. It is difficult to analyse the motives which led to theuse of this unusual constructional form. In the case of the yeoman farmhouses, economic factors may have come into play; stone of the rather poor quality generally used in such buildings was widely available in the South and West Yorkshire Pennines. With high-status buildings such as Oxspring Lodge one would think that such constraints were of less importance.Possibly the builders did not trust themselves to

32. Sheffield City Library, in local history collection. Also P. F. Ryder 1985, 'Oxspring Lodge', *Post-Med Arch.*, 19, 49-62. Since this article was written a major study of medieval and post-medieval houses in West Yorkshire has appeared: RCHME 1986, *Rural Houses of West Yorkshire 1400-1830,* London, HMSO.

erect load-bearing walls from the thinly-bedded sandstone available near the site, especially when good oaks doubtless grew close at hand. The substitution of timber for stone dressings was not without local precedent, even at high social level; 5 km south-west of Oxspring Lodge is the fourteenth-century Courthouse at Midhope Hall, which retains the head of a large gable-end window of four trefoil-headed lights, carved in oak rather than stone and set under a timber lintel in an opening with the simplest dressings.

Summary

Although there are a wide number of types and styles of timber-framed building within South Yorkshire, some general patterns are perhaps observable. In the medieval period proper only the gentry could afford to build substantial timber houses, and few of these survive today; that described from Woodall may be a typical example, tentatively dated to the later fourteenth century. The use of common rafter roofs, typical of Lowland carpentry., would appear to have been general at this time. In the second half of the fifteenth century, with increasing prosperity, the whole picture changes; many of the lesser gentry rebuild their residences, and yeoman farmers find themselves able to buld houses on almost the same scale. The Highland style of carpentry, typified by the king-post roof, increases in popularity. Plan form rather than tradition of carpentry separates the two classes; the hall and cross wings plan of Harley Hall typifies the minor gentry house, the aisled hall on Barnby Hall Farm and the three-bay plan of Netherfold, two yeoman house types.

By the early sixteenth century, if not before, a third group were building in the west of the county, using the cruck frame, perhaps in continuance of the form of construciton of the much-discussed medieval peasant house of which so few examples survive. In this area, on the fringe of the Pennines, all three framing traditions — Highland, Lowland and Cruck — seem to have co-existed side by side for at least fifty years, Highland carpentry gradually becoming dominant in the gentry and better-class yeoman houses.

In 1576, when the new hall block was being built at Brampton Hall, a yeoman farmhouse, the Highland style was employed, although the arrangement of the block was one derived from Lowland regions further to the north-east. Further east, on and beyond the Magnesian Limestone belt, Lowland common rafter roofs remained in vogue, especially over small houses and cottages which are probably the social equivalent of the cruck houses further west.

Despite the persistence of what might almost be termed a sub-tradition of hybrid timber-framed/stone-walled buildings in the Pennine West, framed construction seems to have continued in general use throughout South Yorkshire until the second quarter of the seventeenth century and the 'Great Rebuilding'. Both Highland and Lowland roof types remain in use over the new houses (stone in most areas, except for brick east of Doncaster) although a west/east distinction is at last clear. Crucks too survive for another century, mostly in agricultural buildings, slipping out of use before the coming of the copy-book carpentry of the later eighteenth and nineteenth centuries put an end to centuries of local Vernacular tradition.

Acknowledgements

The majority of the field work and research on which this article is based were carried out when the writer was employed by South Yorkshire County Council; all drawings and photographs are used with permission of South Yorkshire County Archaeology Service. Thanks are due to all who assisted with this work: John Little (South Yorkshire County Archaeologist), Stanley Jones (for frequent help with fieldwork and encouragement throughout), Colum Giles of R.C.H.M. (for useful discussion and comparisons with West Yorkshire material), David Hey, Jennifer Hillam, Michael Parker and many others, including the owners of many South Yorkshire buildings who have allowed access to their homes for recording and survey.

Appendix 1: *South Yorkshire Buildings referred to in the text.*

Austerfield Manor House. SK 662950.
Barnby Hall Farm. SE 193082. See text.
Bishops' House, Meersbrook, Sheffield. SK 354840 AJ 470–471.
Brampton Hall. SE 416012 See text.
Broomhall, Sheffield. SK 348266
Butterbusk Farm, Conisbrough. SK 532999
Campsall Old Rectory. SE 544140 *CAMSR*
Carbrook Hall, Attercliffe. SK 393903. Hallamshire, plate facing p.316.
Castle Green, Tickhill. SK 593951 *TFB 41-46*
Crossroad Cottage, Sutton. SE 551123 *CAMSR*
Dean Head Farmhouse, Hunshelf. SE 269002 *CAMSR*
Denaby Old Hall. SK 484991 *CAMSR*
Eastfield Farm Barn, Tickhill. SK 594943
Ecclesfield High Street, Cruck Barn. SK 941355
Ecclesfield High Street, demolished house. c.SK 940355. *LHB*
Ecclesfield, 2-6 Town End Road. SK 942353 *CAMSR*
Flash House Barn. SE 268073
Gawber Hall. SE 325077
Golden Cross, Cawthorne. SE 285082 *CAMSR*
Green Farm, Stocksbridge. SK 253894 *TFB 47-55*
Guilthwaite Grange. SK 451890 *CAMSR*
Gunthwaite Hall Barn. SK 237066 *AJ 462-466*
Hall Broom Barn, Dungworth. SK 271897 *CAMSR*
Harley Hall. SK 372985 See text.
Harthill, 1 Chapel Yard.SK 493810
Harthill, 70-72 Union Street. SK 493807 *CAMSR*
Hollin Busk Farmhouse, Deepcar. SK 273975 *CAMSR*
Houndhill, Worsbrough Dale. SE 337041 *AJ 442-444*
Housely Hall, Chapeltown. SK 349965
Kidfield House, Hoyland Swaine. SE 253055 *CAMSR*
Low Bromley Farmhouse. SK 325991 *CAMSR*
Midhope Hall Courthouse. SK 234995 *AJ 460-461*
Netherfold Farmhouse. SK 384952. See text.
Nether Mill Farm Barn, Penistone. SE 246039
New Hall, Darfield. SE 395053. YAJ.
Oaks Fold Cruck Barn, Shiregreen, Sheffield.SK 373922 AJ 454–455
Old Queen's Head, Pond Street, Sheffield. SK 358873
Old Smithy, Gildingwells. SK 558852
Old Three Cranes, High Street, Rotherham. SK 429928 *CAMSR*
Orchard and Poplar Cottages, Aston. SK 466854 *CAMSR*
Oughtibridge Hall. SK 313933
Oxspring Lodge. SE 270025
Pond Farmhouse, Stannington. SK 306886 *TFB 70-77*
St Leonard's Hospital, Tickhill. SK 593933
Schole Hill Farmhouse, Penistone. SK 239027 *CAMSR*
Scholes village, house in. SK 389958
Sheffield Manor House. SK 375856 *AJ 468-470*
Stumperlowe Cottage, Fulwood, Sheffield. SK 308850
Swaithe Hall, Worsbrough Dale. SE 375044
Tankersley Old Hall, SK 357989 *CAMSR*
Tom Hill, Dungworth, SK 278900 *CAMSR*
Townhead Farmhouse, Stannington. SK 300888 *CAMSR*
Upper Tankersley Farmhouse, SK 342993 *CAMSR*
West Hall Fold, Wentworth. SK 383983 *CAMSR*
Whiston Hall Barn. SK 447900 TFB 112-113, *AJ 431-433*
Whitehouse Farm, Stannington. SK 300882
Windhill Farm, Bolsterstone. SK 246984 *CAMSR*
Woodall, No. 4 Walseker Lane. SK 483808 See text.

References.

AJ: Report of Royal Archaeological Institute Summer Meeting at Wentworth Woodhouse, *Archaeological Journal* 138 (1980).

CAMSR: South Yorkshire Sites and Monuments Record, South Yorkshire Archaeology Unit, Libraries Arts and Museums Building, Ellin Street, Sheffield S1.

Hallamshire: *Hallamshire* J. Hunter, ed. A. Gatty, 1869, Sheffield: Pawson and Brailsford.

LHB: Unpublished drawings by the late L. H. Butcher, held at Sheffield City Museum, Weston Park, Sheffield.

TFB: *Timber-Framed Buildings in South Yorkshire,* P. F. Ryder. South Yorkshire County Archaeology Monograph No. 1 (1978)

YAJ: New Hall, Darfield, J. Birch and P. F. Ryder, *Yorks. Archaeol. Journal* 54 (1982) 81-98.

Appendix 2. *Dendrochronological Dates for South Yorkshire Buildings.*

The following list only includes dated timbers which could be related to the building's structure with some degree of certainty.

Bishops' House Sheffield	Hall and cross wing house, probably early C16. Floorboard from cross wing *after 1446,* floorboard from inserted floor over hall *after 1544.*	Morgan 1977
Brampton Hall	See text. Hall block *late 1576/early 1577*	priv. comm J. Hillam.
Broomhall, Sheffield	Cross wing of large gentry house. Wall plate *1507±9,* purlins replaced *summer 1614*	Hillam 1980
Ecclesfield, 41 High St.	One-bay (?) cottage, principal rafter roof, close-studded walls. Principal posts *after 1561.*	Hillam 1983
Golden Cross, Cawthorne.	Cross wing with collared rafter roof, wallplate *1537±9* Hall block rebuilt later with king-post roof.	Hillam 1983
Guilthwaite Grange.	Cross wing with close-studded wall, probable principal rafter roof. Open hall. Wallplate *1597±9*	Hillam 1980
Hallfield House Barn, Bradfield Dale (SK 234915)	Cruck barn. Purlins *1620±9,* Wallplate (probably re-used) *after 1468*	Hillam 1981
Hangram Lane Farm, Fulwood (SK 299842)	Cruck blades, re-used in later farm building. *Summer 1541.*	Morgan 1978
Jordanthorpe Hall Farm, Cruck Barn (SK 361817)	Cruck blades, probably from house, re-used in later barn. *1563±9*	Hillam 1983
Netherfold Farmhouse.	See text. *Late 1494/early 1495.*	Hillam 1981
Old Hall Farm, Brampton-en-le-Morthen (SK 486884)	Collared rafter roof of small stone house. *Summer 1624.*	Hillam 1980
Stannington, 110-112 Uppergate Road (SK 300885)	Purlin from cruck building, probably house. *1539±9*	Hillam 1980
Well House Farm Barn, Stannington (SK 301882)	Cruck barn, tie-beam *1591±9*	Hillam 1981
Wellgate Old Hall Barn, Rotherham (SK 431925)	Barn, probably with common rafter roof. Posts and wall-plate. *Summer 1599*	Hillam 1980
Whitehouse Farm, Stannington	Panels, probably contemporary with stone house having timber arcade to outshut. *After 1627.*	Hillam 1983

References

Hillam, J. (1980, 1981, 1983) Lists of tree-ring dates for buildings with oak timber, *Vernacular Architecture 11,* 23: *12,* 40: *14,* 61.

Morgan, R. (1977) Dendrochronological Dating of a Yorkshire timber building. *Vernacular Architecture* 8, 809-814.

Morgan, R. (1978) Two tree-ringed cruck buildings. *Vernacular Architecture* 9, 32-33.

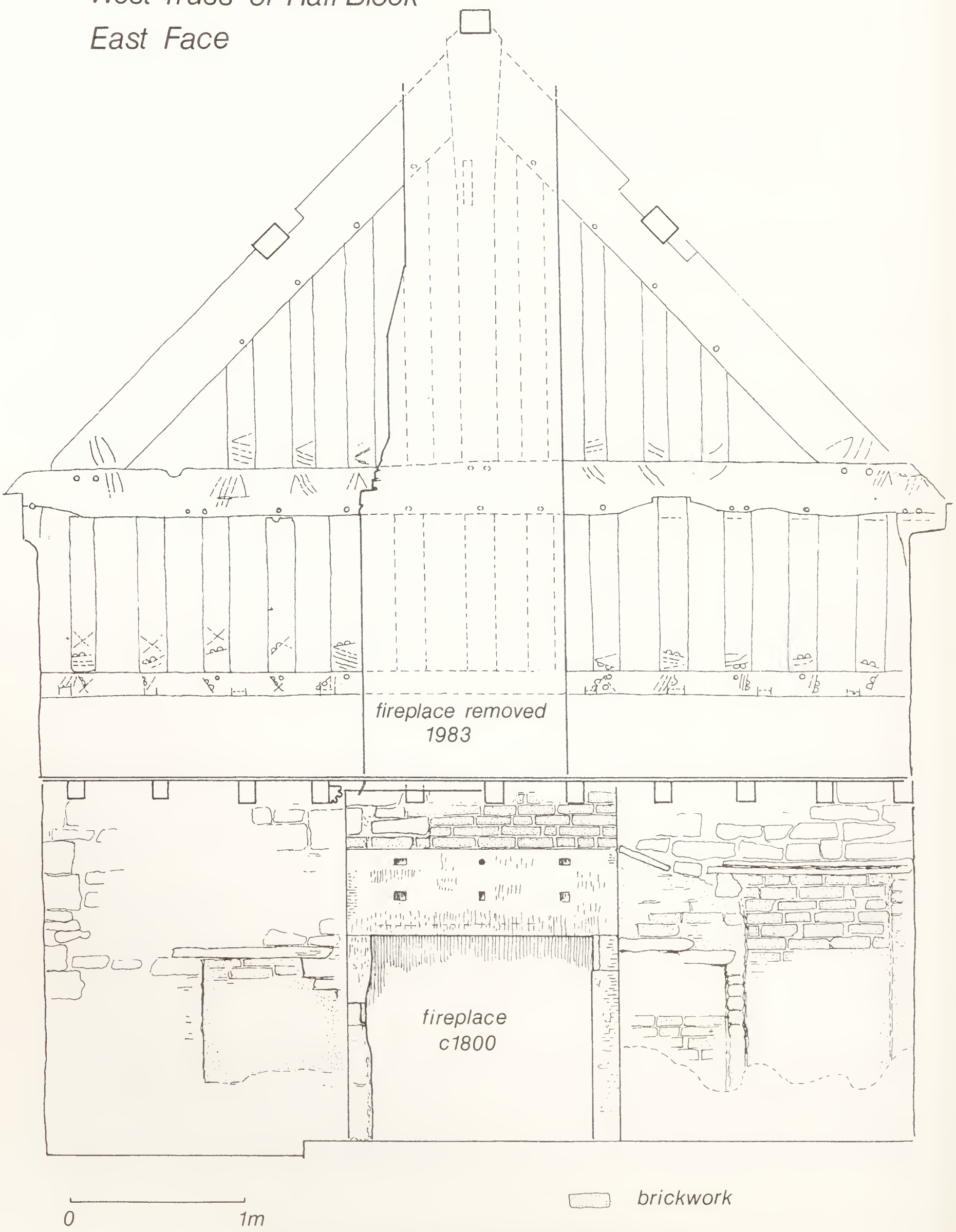

Fig. 9. Harley Hall: West truss of hall block, E. face.

NORTHERN WOMEN IN THE EARLY MODERN PERIOD: THE FEMALE TESTATORS OF HULL AND LEEDS 1520-1650

By CLAIRE CROSS

The myth that women below the nobility and gentry were virtually invisible in the Tudor and Stuart periods is taking an unconscionably long time to die. It seems to have arisen in the first place largely because of the types of evidence historians have customarily used. Certainly in editions of national records such as the *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII* and its continuation, the *State Papers Domestic,* women figure relatively rarely, partly for the very prosaic reason that they seem to have written much less than men. In other types of documents, however, like those of the law courts, especially the ecclesiastical law courts where more evidence was submitted in writing, women frequently surface as plaintiffs, defendants and witnesses. Testamentary records provide another area in which women appear with some regularity, since a relatively large proportion of women in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries left wills. In the Borthwick Institute at York rather over two thousand wills survive for the inhabitants of Leeds and Hull between 1520 and 1650, almost exactly a thousand for Leeds, around 1,200 for Hull: of these 2,200 testators 173 from Leeds were women, 234 from Hull, that is very approximately one testator in five was female. Such wills can yield a considerable amount of information about the way of life of urban women in early modern England.

Another myth due for demolition is that only the rich made wills: in fact wills can be attributed to a wider economic sector of society than might be anticipated, ranging from the very wealthy, through the substantial bourgeoisie to those on the threshold of absolute poverty. The widow, Ann Dobson from Hull, for example, who in 1631 possessed over £200 to divide among her children was affluent by any standards, but the same emphatically could not be said of a near contemporary, Joan Conyers, an inmate of the Hull hospital, Trinity House, whose entire goods in 1611 probably did not amount to £5 in value: yet both felt the need to make a will. The wills, moreover, extend over a much broader age span than might be expected. Some women did indeed achieve their allotted three score years and ten, but very many others died along the way: maidens still living with their families, young women in service, even a handful of married women as well as many newly widowed mothers with under-age children and elderly widows with adult children, grandchildren and sometimes great-grandchildren all feature in some numbers in Hull and Leeds between 1520 and 1650.[1]

In the early modern period over fifty Hull and Leeds women testators died unmarried, that is about one in eight, and many of these seem to have been quite young girls who, because of the premature deaths of their fathers and in some cases also of their mothers, had received their share of the parental estate before they came of age. Even when these child portions may in themselves have been relatively insignificant they nevertheless conferred on the individual girl a modicum of independence: at the most basic of levels

1. Borthwick Institute Prob. Reg. 41 f 170v-702v (Dobson); Prob. Reg. 31 f 778v-779r (Conyers): the spelling in all quotations has been modernized.

they had something to bestow upon their relatives and friends. Anne Walker of Leeds demonstrated this in the simplest terms in 1552: her tiny will reads.

> I give part to my father [in reality her step-father, Richard Greathead, whom she appointed her executor], and part to my mother, and part to my brethren, and part to my grandfather, and part to John Walker and part to Christopher Marshall.[2]

More informative about her possessions was Elizabeth Johnson of Hull, described as a 'young woman' in her will of 1573. Dying, she made gifts of between £2 and a few shillings to her brother and friends, gave her mother cloth to make a petticoat and bestowed clothes, silver pins and sheep upon her three sisters Isabel, Agnes and Janet in addition to dividing the portion she had inherited from her father between John and Philip Watman. Ann Spence, also of Hull, owned property as well as goods, in 1597 passing on her title to a house and orchard in Beverley which had come to her under the will of her uncle, Robert Bill, a Beverley draper, to her brother Giles and his heirs. She also gave Giles £9 in money, another brother, Martin, £10 and her sister, Elizabeth, £4. After a bequest of 40*s*. to her mother and remembrances of a few shillings to friends the residue of her goods went to her brother John Spence with whom she was living. When on their deathbeds, the thoughts of these girls naturally turned to their nearest kin, many frequently, like Frances Rennard of Hull in 1625 who set aside £10 for her nephew, also including a third generation. Jane, the daughter of the late Brian Booth of Leeds, was about twenty-eight years old when she declared her last will before witnesses in 1635; she wished the whole of her child's portion of about £34 to go to her mother, Jane Smith, 'in consideration of the great charges far surmounting that she has put her said mother unto in her education and during the time she lay lame on her hands to her extraordinary pains, costs and charges.'[3]

Two Hull wills made within twelve months of each other at the time of the Civil War illustrate the wide differences in wealth which might separate these single women. Jane Hochan's entire possessions were praised at less than in £5 in 1645 and yet she could still give a bedstead to her brother, John, clothes and 4*s*. to her sister, Margaret, an iron pot and 2*s*. to her eldest brother's son, a bible, a book with a red cover and 3*s*. to her cousin, Thomas Hochan, 1*s*. to her sister, Ann, clothes and 5*s*. to her brother's eldest daughter, clothes and 3*s*. to her cousin, Frances, bedding to Alice Lating, a pan to Mary Lating, a press, a spinning wheel, a book and 8*d*. to Samuel Lating and a web of cloth and 12*s*. to be shared between Elizabeth Fisher, widow, Abigail Ward, widow and Dorothy Keder. In sharp contrast Frances Coppy in June 1646 had £66 13*s*. 4*d*. in her brother's custody. After putting aside the very sizeable sum of £10 for her funeral expenses and making token bequests to nephews, nieces and her brother's wife, she left her brother £15, and her sister £29 in addition to all her clothes.[4]

Not all those who died unmarried were young, nor apparently had they all necessarily acquired their goods by inheritance. At least some of the unmarried female testators had been working for their living and in their wills were disposing of some of their hardly won earnings. When Elizabeth Kirk came to make her will in 1564 she referred to herself as the servant of James Robinson of Hull, saddler; apart from leaving 20*s*. to the poor and £7 to Giles Kirk if he lived to be twenty-one, she concentrated her attention almost entirely on her master's household, giving Agnes Hodgson, her fellow servant, 6*s*. 8*d*., another servant, Isabel, 3*s*. 4*d*., her master's sister £1, his daughters, Ellen and Mary, 40*s*., a silver pin, hooks, a whistle and the reversion of the £7 if Giles Kirk died, and her master the residue of her goods. Similarly in 1582 Margaret Cooke, besides providing

2. Prob. Reg. 13 f 945v (Walker).
3. Prob. Reg. 19 pt II f 651r (Johnson); Prob. Reg. 27 pt I f 184v-185r (Spence); Prob. Reg. 39 f 300v (Rennard); Orig. Wills July 1649 (Booth).
4. Orig. Wills Jan 1645/6 (Hochan); Orig. Wills June 1647 (Coppy).

10*s*. for the poor of Hull and other small bequests, bestowed 20*s*. on her dame Collinson, 40*s* on John Collinson, and kèrchiefs, aprons and rails on her mistress's maidens Anne Brewer, Elizabeth Doughtie and one Braye. Isabel Watson, servant to Christopher Ivison of Hull, who fell sick in the plague epidemics of 1637, did not share the same affection for her employer, in her nuncupative will reserving for her mother, Elizabeth Watson, her clothes, 10*s*. which belonged to her in Myton Car where the infected had been isolated, 10*s*. of her wages in her master's hand, a trunk and a bond for £4 in her master's house and 40*s*. besides owing to her in the country. In contrast with Frances Coppy's conspicuous expenditure, Isabel Watson only allowed 10*s*. for her funeral.[5]

Other single women seem to have had independent households of their own, small though some of these may have been. In 1613 Margaret Anderson had goods in her own chamber in Chapel Lane in Hull. When Elizabeth Trotter, spinster, died in Hull in 1628 after bequeathing 20*s*. to John, son of Robert Stevens, and a glass case to Henry Brough's wife, Martha, she gave all the rest of her possessions to Katherine Hide, widow, 'for that she had taken great pains about her in her sickness, and the charges she had drawn her to thereabouts.' Rebecca Goodman, single woman, belonged to a much more privileged sector of Hull society: at her death in 1644 she asked to be buried within the chancel of St. Mary's church, a sure sign of superior social standing. She owned bedding, napery, pewter, a silver tun and spoon, a purse with a gold ring and, very appropriately, a service book all of which she intended for her god-daughter, and had yet more silver, bedding, kitchen utensils and clothes for other relatives. In the less urbanised parish of Leeds in 1614, in addition to her household goods which included two chests which she left to her landlord, Thomas Killingbeck, Janet Judson, single woman, had a flock of at least twenty sheep. Thirty years on Sybil Dixon, single woman, seems to have been living in a household of her own in Kirkgate, Leeds and had in excess of £30 to donate to relatives. In their very different ways women such as these seem to have been of some consequence in their localities and were certainly in a position to wield real influence within their own families.[6]

When a woman married in law she lost this independence, her property and goods being merged with those of her husband. For this reason married women did not normally make wills and it is therefore particularly interesting that six wills survive for this period of married women from Hull and Leeds. It may have been the fact that she had a claim to certain possessions still outstanding at the time of her death which caused Margaret Langscarr, wife of Gregory Langscarr of Leeds Mainridding, to make a nuncupative will in 1618. Being asked by Isabel Browne who should have her goods yet ungotten, she said,

> Who but Gregory, my husband, and I give it him all, for he is worthy to have it all if it were twice as much, because he hath great trouble and charges about the recovery thereof — except a part of my clothes which my sister Janet shall have and the rest of them to my daughter-in-law [probably her step-daughter] Agnes Langscarr.

The disposal of her apparel seems also to have been a major concern of Mary Droning, wife of John Droning, a Leeds clothier. In 1635 in another nuncupative will she asked her husband to see that her sisters had this between them: the money and personal estate due to her in right of her child's part she gave to her husband, adding rather touchingly 'that if the same were as much more, it was all little enough for him, and God give him luck of it'.[7]

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5. Prob. Reg. 17 pt I f 358r (Kyrke); Prob. Reg. 22 pt I f 193v-194r (Cooke); Orig. Wills Dec 1639 (Watson).
6. Prob. Reg. 35 f 105r (Anderson); Prob. Reg. 41 f 50a (Trotter); Orig. Wills Jan 1644/5 (Goodman); Prob. Reg. 33 f 435v-436r (Judson); Orig. Wills Feb 1644/5 (Dixon).
7. Prob. Reg. 35 f 131v (Langscarr); Orig. Wills Jan 1635/6 (Droning).

Very significantly, four out of the six married women who made wills had married previously, and so had been in a sufficiently strong financial position to insist on certain conditions before embarking upon matrimony for a second time. Elizabeth Richardson, wife of Peter Richardson of Hull, merchant, late wife and executrix of Robert Baylyf, formerly of Hull, gentleman, disclosed in her will in 1591 that before she had married her second husband he had entered into a bond to allow her to dispose of £20 by will. This she proceeded to do in 1591, assigning £9 of her £20 to the purchase of gowns for twelve poor people she specified by name, and giving the rest in small bequests to relatives. Whereas Elizabeth Richardson seems to have been at least partly inspired by philanthropic motives, Helen Mawle, who had taken as her second husband Thomas Mawle, master mariner of Hull, seems to have been solely concerned in the will she made in 1615 with the consent and permission of her husband with the welfare of her sons by her first marriage. She left her son, Samuel Crispin, a half third of the messuage where she and Thomas Mawle now lived in Church Lane, formerly in the possession of John Gregory and her late husband John Crispin, and a second half third to her other son, Amos Crispin, with the residue of her goods to her husband.[8]

A Leeds woman, formerly Elizabeth Cromarke but in 1622 the wife of Richard Beckwith, in her will explained how in her widowhood she had bought a messuage in Kirkgate in the name of her brother, James Rawden, to the intent that she might bestow the property on whom she pleased: she then went on to give two cottages and half a croft to her son, William Cromarke, three cottages to her son, Theophilus Cromarke, and two cottages and a half croft to her daughter, Mary, wife of Thomas Walker. Clearly Elizabeth Beckwith, like Helen Mawle, had taken positive action to safeguard the rights of her fatherless children before she remarried.[9]

One unique Hull will brings home the complexity of the lives some of these women had led. As she lay dying in 1640 Susan Barnard described herself as the wife of Robert Barnard, innholder, the late wife and administrix of Anthony Middleton, also the late wife and executrix of Robert Waite, and yet again the late wife and administrix of John Julian — a tally of four husbands almost rivalling that of the legendary wife of Bath. After such a preamble the main body of the will is something of a disappointment, Susan Barnard simply conferring on her present husband, Robert, the lease of the house in which they lived in Blackfriar Gate and all her goods in consideration of the fact that he had paid some debts and was unlikely to pay more belonging to her 'as I was a widow, which I owed and was indebted before I married him.' At a very conservative estimate at least thirty-two, and probably many more, of the four hundred Leeds and Hull women testators had been married at least twice, and three, Joan Thurscross, Agnes Matthewson and Marion Calverley, had certainly had three husbands.[10]

These much married women, however, were exceptional: a large number of their fellow testators never lived long enough to undertake even a second marriage. One of the most pathetic of the wills is that of Jane Magham who had it drawn up on 1 May 1584 as she lay 'in travail of childbirth'. Making no mention of her baby which may well have already died, she gave her servant Ellen a heffer and six sheep and her clothes to another of her servants, Effame Carr. To her midwife, Agnes Bell, she left four of her best sheep in gratitude for the care she had taken of her in her great labour, and consigned the residue of her estate to her mother, Margaret Hodgson. Very unusually apart from the curate of Holy Trinity her will was witnessed only by women, almost certainly the nine neighbours who had assembled to assist at her childbed.[11]

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8. Prob. Reg. 25 pt I f 818r-v (Richardson); Orig. Wills Nov 1641 (Mawle).
9. Prob. Reg. 37 f 227r-229r (Cromarke).
10. Orig. Wills Aug 1640 (Barnard).
11. Prob. Reg. 22 pt II f 538v (Magham).

As resigned to the inevitability of imminent death for herself and her child was Alice Simpson of Leeds who during an outbreak of plague in 1645 bequeathed all her goods to various relatives and friends and then, almost as an afterthought, revoked virtually all of these bequests in favour of her daughter, Mary, should she outlive her mother. Margaret Kitching, 'being under the hand of the Lord's pestilence' displayed a similar pessimism in Hull in 1637. All her goods went to her young sons, John and Martin, whom she entrusted to her cousin, George Kitchin, with the proviso that if the boys died he should have their inheritances. Many Hull and Leeds widows faced the same predicament of dying with under age children, and normally looked to their nearest relatives to care for their orphans. In 1539, for example, Elizabeth Richardson of Hull bestowed her five children with their portions upon her father, John Kaiston, and her brother, Robert. Jane Griffith, also of Hull, systematically parcelled out her three children among her relatives in 1570, Alice and her portion going to her mother, Ellen to her brother, John Farley, and her only son, John, to her sister and brother-in-law. In 1571 Cicily Williamson showed an even greater confidence in her brother-in-law, Robert Stevenson, giving him the residue of her estate on condition that he brought up her only son, Thomas, until he came of lawful age and then conferred on him what he thought right. Isabel Helme of Leeds in 1636 entrusted her three children to her brother-in-law 'desiring him that he would be a friend unto them, as he had always been unto her and her said children.' Much more unusually, Alice Vessie looked in 1562 to her master, Mr. Thomas Hewer of Hull, upon whom she bestowed 20*s*. and her son, Richard, with his goods, praying him to keep him till he came of age.[12]

Judging from the wills at least half the widows who died in middle life or younger left children under age. The implications of this for family life in the early modern period have perhaps still not received sufficient emphasis. A considerable number of households like that of Jane Griffith were broken up on the mother's death and others enlarged by the addition of orphaned cousins and even orphaned servants' children: generations, too, lost their distinctiveness with grandparents perforce having to take on the role of parents to their orphaned grandchildren. Artificial extended families must also have been relatively common when widows and widowers each with children of their own embarked upon second marriages. When Janet Hull, for example, died in 1561 she gave an angel to her husband's son, but reserved the residue of her estate to her own daughter, Agnes Hull, almost certainly her husband's child by his second marriage. In 1572 Agnes Hewit died leaving only step-children: having made each a token bequest of 3*s*. 4*d*. she passed on the bulk of her estate to her sisters.[13]

Despite these multiple marriages, and the dissolution and creation of households, by and large families in Leeds and Hull at this period do not seem to have been overburdened with children. Margaret Thorpe was quite outside the common run in 1537 in having seven surviving children, and not all of these were living at home with her in Hull. In Leeds in 1576 Sybil Sykes also had seven children and sufficient means to make up her four daughters' portions to £40 a head. In 1588 again in Leeds Margaret Ingle mentioned four sons and seven daughters in her will, a family no other testator throughout the period could match. Most households seem to have contained not more than two or three children, and many widows had no more than one surviving child.[14]

The categories of women so far considered, maidens, servants, young widows, had all

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12. Orig. Wills Mar 1645/6 (Sympson); Orig. Wills July 1639 (Kitching); Prob. Reg. 11 pt I f 360v-361r (Richardson); Prob. Reg. 18 f 201v-202r (Griffith): Prob. Reg. 19 pt I f 89r (Williamson); Orig. Wills June 1636 (Helme): Prob. Reg. 17 pt I f 316r (Vessie).
13. Prob. Reg. 16 f 173r (Hull); Prob. Reg. 19 pt I f 395v (Hewit); and see R. A. Houlbrooke, *The English Family, 1450-1700,* London, 1984, especially pp. 202-227.
14. Prob. Reg. 11 pt I f 282v (Thorpe); Prob. Reg. 20 f 134r-v (Sykes): Prob. Reg. 23 f 897r (Ingle).

died prematurely, but well over a quarter of the Hull and Leeds female testators were middle aged, if not old women who lived to see their children's children. In Hull in 1584, for example, Alice Hall gloried in her thirteen grandchildren, donating the residue of her estate to Susanna, John, Rachel, Walter, Josias, Samuel, Deborah and Daniel, the children of her son, Robert Hall, and to Elizabeth, Alice, Stephen, Walter and Ezechias, children of her daughter, Agnes, and her husband, William Barnard. Jane Pretty in 1614 had yet more grandchildren, a total of eighteen, and could afford to be considerably more generous to them than Alice Hall, her four granddaughters and grandson by her son, Robert, receiving £24 each, her four granddaughters by her daughter, Judith, the same amount while her presumably better provided for five grandchildren by her daughter, Mary, and her four grandchildren by her late son, William, had a token £4 a head. Anne Hunter with three sons and two daughters named twenty grandchildren in her will in 1632. Clearly matriarchs like these exerted considerable authority over their large families.[15]

Usually the wills afford abundant evidence of the affection felt by these mothers and grandmothers for their children and grandchildren. Occasionally, however, children seem to have gone to the bad or to have married partners who proved unsatisfactory. In 1614 Margery Mawson of Leeds died beseeching God 'to turn the hearts of my sons that their course of life hereafter may tend to his glory and their own good', and went on to appoint trustees empowered to grant portions of £30 each to Thomas, John and William only if they reformed their lives within the space of ten years and married honest women of whom their supervisors approved. If her errant sons failed to change their ways their inheritance passed to their sisters Elizabeth, Alice, Grace and Anne. In Hull in 1637 Edith Wilkinson devised an equally effective scheme to curb her son-in-law's profligacy. She bequeathed her daughter, Elizabeth Croft, a bond for £50 but only permitted her to draw the interest on it during her husband's life time. If Elizabeth survived her husband, then she might have the principal, but if he outlived his wife, Elizabeth was to have the right to dispose of the money at her own pleasure.[16]

As they faced death these women naturally concerned themselves most over the future of their children and grandchildren but a sizeable number, certainly over eighty out of these four hundred testators, had outlived any direct descendants they might once have had and were dying childless. In this situation most looked to their nearest surviving kin. Jane Waddisworth of Hull in 1558 selected her sister Agnes's seven children, making them her chief legatees. After giving a token bequest to her step-son, Elizabeth Johnson in 1592 left her two nieces her house and close in Hedon and all the residue of her goods. Similarly in 1625 Elizabeth Mawgham chose her brothers and her brothers' children as the main beneficiaries of her substantial estate.[17]

Some widows, however, either did not have, or did not want to remember close relatives. Elizabeth Atkinson of Hull in 1603 divided the remainder of her possesions between John, the son of her brother-in-law, William Cockerill, and Paul Nelson, the son of a kinsman. In the same year Katherine Power named her brother-in-law her executor and gave him her interest in a ferry boat on the Humber which he may have operated for her after her husband's death. Elizabeth Mayson of Leeds quite deliberately excluded her own relations from her will in 1578, leaving all her goods to her late husband's brothers, Thomas, William, John and Peter Mayson, having 'found more friendship and favour in them, than ever she found with her own friends, and therefore she did then say that her own kinsfolk should never have any of her goods.' 'Being

15. Prob. Reg. 23 pt I f 283v (Hall); Prob. Reg. 33 f 328v-329v (Prettye); Prob. Reg. 42 f 370v-371r (Hunter).
16. Prob. Reg. 33 f 305v-306v (Mawson); Orig. Wills Ap 1638 (Wilkinson).
17. Prob. Reg. 15 pt II f 344v-345r (Waddisworth); Prob. Reg. 25 pt I f 889v (Johnson); Prob. Reg. 38 f 584v-586r (Mawgham).

infected with the plague and debarred from all company saving two people', Grace Watson of Hull thought first in 1637 of Richard Watson, a poor boy in her household and appointed sureties to pay him his portion, declaring that 'except Mr. John Maisterman and Leonard Watson stood his friend her sister Moore would wrong him.' Anne Toe, widow of George Toe, a one time miller in Hull, seems to have had no near relatives at all when she died in 1630. After making small bequests to friends and neighbours which included her workday clothes to Alice Palmer who had cared for her in her sickness, she concentrated exclusively upon her master's family, giving Anne Pease, his daughter, a coffer in token of her love, a fellow servant, Mary Harrison, a fish skimmer, and the residue of her goods to her master and mistress, George and Anne Pease, to distribute among their children as they thought fit. Briefly and enigmatically in 1631 Tabitha Watson, widow, of Hull consigned all the estate 'wherewith it hath pleased God of his mercy to enrich me' to her 'very kind friend' Robert Wright, whom she made her executor.[18]

Whether or not they had close relatives to whom they might leave their possessions these widows seem frequently to have been guided in the disposition of their estates by the wishes of their dead husbands, and none more so than Alice Grave of Leeds Kirkgate who in her will of 1617 recited how her husband had bequeathed to her all his freehold and copyhold lands for six years and all his goods in order that she might pay his debts and provide portions for their daughters: she had refunded part of the debts, but was prevented from doing more by sickness and in consequence resigned the executorship in her late husband's lands to their elder son, Henry, hoping that he would be as careful as she had been to perform the trust. Clearly some of these women knew sufficient about their husbands' business activities to be able to oversee their affairs after their death. When the three times widowed Anne Matthewson died in Hull in 1547 she gave specific instructions to her executors to reward her apprentices when their terms of service came to an end. In the Elizabethan period Alison Wilson of the township of Armley in Leeds parish had certainly been engaged in cloth production after her husband's death, having entered into a partnership with her son, Richard, to buy wool for making cloth and broad dozens. When Elizabeth Casson died in Leeds in 1634 fulling mills formed a part of her very considerable estate.[19]

Even though they lived in a town some women retained an interest in agriculture. In Hull in 1603 Alice Torr widow, gave her son's youngest daughter a quy called 'Minson' and to another of her granddaughters, Elizabeth, another quy named 'Carille'. Two decades earlier in Leeds Elizabeth Moore who had evidently been farming on a larger scale, besides bequests of oxen as well as cows, also gave her son Francis her wain gear. Both cloth manufacture and agriculture were occupations which Hull and Leeds women would have shared with their rural counterparts, but Isabel Langcaster had been engaged, it seems, in much more specialized work, commercial catering for Hull corporation. In 1637 she bestowed upon William Wright, cook, her late husband's servant, all the spits and racks which she had at Mr. Mayor's house which usually descended from mayor to mayor and all the money owed her by the mayor and burgesses. Much more predictably in a maritime town like Hull Elizabeth Atkinson, widow of Peter Atkinson, boatman, owned a third part in a boat called 'The Geliner' and stock which she left to her brother-in-law in 1603. Bills and bonds seem to have been a familiar form of investment of these women who time and again in their wills exhibited

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18. Prob. Reg. 30 pt I f 257r-v (Atkinson); Prob. Reg. 29 pt I f 32r-v (Power); Prob. Reg. 21 f 281r (Mayson); Orig. Wills Nov 1639 (Watson); Prob. Reg. 40 f 637v-638r (Toe); Prob. Reg. 41 f 590r-v (Watson).
19. Prob. Reg. 34 f 588v-589r (Grave); Prob. Reg. 13 pt I f 360v-362r (Matthewson); Prob. Reg. 19 f 63r-v (Wilson); Prob. Reg. 42 f 259r-260r (Casson); Alice Clark, *Working Life of Women in the Seventeenth Century*, London, 1919, especially pp. 100-106, 209-235.

considerable competence in economic matters. There can be little doubt that they took an active part in the commercial and manufacturing life of their communities in addition to their domestic responsibilities.[20]

Although when they came to make their wills Hull and Leeds women testators concerned themselves primarily with the affairs of this world and in particular with the dispersal of their lands and goods to their families they nevertheless also showed a real interest in religion and, to a lesser extent, in charity and the wills yield valuable information about women's participation in both these spheres. In neither town does there appear to have been any disillusionment with the practices of the late medieval church on the eve of the Reformation. That testator after testator like Joan Roclif of Hull gave their souls to 'God Almighty, Our Lady, St Mary, and all the celestial company of heaven' may indicate little more than common form but the bequests they made to their parish churches must surely demonstrate a lively faith. Between 1521 and the death of Henry VIII at least five Hull women established obits for the offering of masses on the anniversary of their death while others, less wealthy, provided for trentals at their funerals, as did their counterparts in Leeds. The exceptionally rich and thrice widowed Dame Joan Thurscross, since she had no child to succeed her, enjoyed an unusual degree of freedom in the disposition of her property which she used partly to advance representatives of various religious orders. She favoured in particular the nuns of Sixhills and St Leonard's, Grimsby while also remembering with presents of plate the monks of the Hull Charterhouse and Kirkstall Abbey in Leeds. Testators with close family felt obliged to pass the greater part of their goods on to them, but most put aside at least something for pious uses. Among the Hull women testators Joan Roclif reserved 3*s*. 4*d*. to make shoes for the image of Our Lady of Sculcoates and gave beads to Our Lady of the Friars Carmelite and Our Lady of the Austin Friars. Ellen Harman, too, participated in this cult of images, bequeathing coral beads to Our Lady of the Austin Friars and a girdle to Our Lady of Gisburn. Even more intriguingly in 1526 Agnes Harrison contributed 13*s*. 4*d*. towards the making of a retable of St Saviour which her son, Richard, had lately begun. Two of Joan Roclif's brothers were priests, and in Leeds both Elizabeth Fawcet and Julian Jeffrayson had sons who had entered the church.[21]

The prohibition of celebrating masses for the dead and the ending of other ancient rituals must have affected both communities deeply. From the accession of Edward VI onwards no female testator in Hull assigned any money at all for the former observances though in the reign of Mary some Leeds women began once more to include in their wills a few shillings or a few pence for the holy sacrament or for church ornaments. This divergence between the testators of the two towns may point to real differences in religious opinions in the two areas. In the Edwardian period the Scottish minister, John Rough, had preached freely in Hull and the following reign saw attacks upon the sacrament, protestant bible readings and other organized attempts to obstruct the new vicar in his campaign to restore catholicism for which there are no parallels in Leeds. Whereas in Leeds in Mary's reign women testators almost without exception reverted to the traditional preamble in their wills, entrusting their souls to 'Almighty God, to Our Lady, St Mary and to all the saints in heaven', Hull women generally adopted a more

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20. Prob. Reg. 29 pt I f 31v (Torr); Prob. Reg. 21 f 196v (Moore); Orig. Wills June 1637 (Langcaster); Prob. Reg. 30 pt I f 257r-v (Atkinson); Prob. Reg. 32 f 43v-44r (Harrison); and also see B. A. Holderness, 'Widows in pre-industrial society: an essay upon their economic functions', in R. M. Smith, ed., *Land, Kinship and Life-Cycle*, Cambridge, 1984, pp. 423-442.

21. Prob. Reg. 9 f 170r (Roclif); op. cit. f 354v (Harman); op. cit. f 382r (Harrison); Prob. Reg. 13 pt I 43r (Henrison); op. cit. f 360v-362r (Matthewson); Prob. Reg. 11 pt I f 323r-v (Roger); op. cit. f 358v (Den); Prob. Reg. 11 pt II f 480v-481r (Fenwell); Prob. Reg. 9 f 272r-273r (Thurescross); Prob. Reg. 11 pt II f 516r (Fawcett); Prob. Reg. 13 f 50v (Jeffrayson).

ambiguous formula giving their souls to 'God Almighty, to be accompanied with all his saints in heaven'.[22]

Active protestant piety seems to have taken a full generation after Elizabeth's accession to come into being in Hull and perhaps two in Leeds. In both towns will preambles changed after 1558 and any reference to the Virgin Mary quickly disappeared. Leeds women usually left their souls to 'Almighty God, my maker and redeemer', but in Hull even in the first decade of the reign some female testators employed a more definitely protestant profession of faith like Elinor Parote who bequeathed her soul to 'Almighty God, trusting in the precious death, burial and holy resurrection of his dear son, Jesus Christ, my redeemer and only saviour, to be one of the elect saints in his heavenly kingdom'.[23]

On their own these preambles can probably do no more than reflect the general religious climate of an area, but when a testator in the main body of the will proceeded to make specific pious donations these do seem to indicate firm protestant convictions. From the 1580s onwards Hull women began in their wills to patronize preaching, Katherine Jackson making her intentions absolutely plain in 1585 with a gift of 6*s*. 8*d* to a preacher to 'bestow a sermon in praise of God' for the 'souls' comfort' of those godly persons 'which shall accompany my corpse to the place of burial'. Between 1580 and the outbreak of the Civil War no less than forty-six Hull women commissioned funeral sermons: in Leeds, where no women mentioned preaching before the reign of James I, a mere nine requested a sermon at their burial.[24]

After 1603 in Hull godly women not only supported preaching but also frequently remembered the clergy of the town at their death. Ann Lister, for example, in 1621 gave Mr. Wincop, the lecturer at Holy Trinity, 22*s*., Mr. Parret, the vicar of Hull, 10*s*., Mr. Welfit, the incumbent of St. Mary's, 10*s*., 5*s*. each to the two clerical schoolmasters, Mr. Burney and Mr. Scales, and £1 to Mrs. Smith, the widow of the previous vicar of Hull, Theophilus Smith. In 1639 Jane Wilson presented 'to the reverend pastors and industrious teachers Mr. Richard Parret, Bachelor in Divinity, and Mr. Andrew Marvell, Master of Arts, and to the careful and hopeful teachers, Mr. Anthony Stevenson and Mr. John Goch, Masters of Art, to each of them one 20*s*. piece of gold.' In Leeds this sort of enthusiasm did not manifest itself until the 1630s, when Elizabeth Casson and Alice Lodge both rewarded a whole constellation of preachers whom they may well have heard at the West Riding exercises, Elizabeth Casson leaving £1 to Mr. Robinson, Mr. Todd, Mr. Nelson, Mr. Hawksworth and Mr. Greathead, Alice Lodge £1 to Mr. Robinson and Mr. Todd, and 10*s*. to Mr. Wales, Mr. Hawksworth, Mr. Nelson, Mr. Cudworth, Mr. Aspinall, Mr. Smith and the widow of the former vicar of Leeds, Mr. Cook.[25]

Throughout this period not a single Leeds female testator alluded to a book: in Hull in contrast in the early seventeenth century at least seven women mentioned books, all, apart from the unnamed book of Mary Conyers, religious works — bibles, new testaments, psalm and service books and, in the cases of Elizabeth Key and Joan Toothbie respectively, Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* and *The Practice of Piety* by Lewis Bayly. It would be a mistake, however, to take references to books as a guide to the extent of female literacy: it was in Leeds, not, as might have been anticipated in Hull, that Anne Metcalf in 1640

22. Prob. Reg. 15 pt I f 135v (Feilde); Prob. Reg. 15 pt I f 69r (Megeley); op. cit. f 191v (Calverley); Prob. Reg. 15 pt III f 112r (Otes); op. cit. f 289r-v (Casson); C. Cross, *Urban Magistrates and Ministers: Religion in Hull and Leeds from the Reformation to the Civil War,* Borthwick Paper 67, York, 1985; Prob. Reg. 15 pt II f 49v (Saxton); Prob. Reg. 14 f 253r-v (Hodgson).
23. Prob. Reg. 22 f 300r (Musgrave); Prob. Reg. 17 pt II f 649r-650r (Parote).
24. Prob. Reg. 23 pt I f 94v-95r (Jackson).
25. Prob. Reg. 36 f 671v-672r (Lister); Orig. Wills May 1642 (Wilson); Prob. Reg. 42 f 259r-260r (Casson); Orig. Wills Oct 1639 (Lodge).

exhorted her daughter's guardians to see her 'brought up in the fear of the Lord with good instruction and learning.'[26]

Piety and charity, so inextricably linked in the late medieval church when a funeral dole to the poor could be regarded simultaneously as a meritorious act and as a means of securing prayers for the soul of the newly deceased, moved further apart after the Reformation and the wills of Leeds and Hull women faithfully mirrored these changes. In the pre-Reformation period the great Hull benefactress, Dame Joan Thurscross, towered over all other female donors in either town in the extent of her generosity. In addition to her bequests to nunneries, friaries and monasteries she gave £30 for vestments in St Mary's church, 40s. towards erecting the steeple of Holy Trinity, £4 for building works at the White Friars' church, £20 to repair the causeway between Beverley and Anlaby, bedding to the Trinity maison dieu, a dole to the poor at her burial and on her seventh and twelve month day, and thirteen mourning gowns to thirteen poor women. Only the childless could indulge in largesse on this scale. As if to underline this fact, Jane Huntingdon in 1542 laid down in her will that if her legatee died her house should be sold and the proceeds distributed in the seven works of mercy. Should her heirs fail Ann Matthewson in 1547 wished her property in Lincolnshire to go to the mayor and burgesses of Hull to be used for the repair of the town churches and for endowing an obit, while in 1556 Elizabeth Thorpe granted £10 to Holy Trinity church in the event of her grandson, Thomas, dying without heirs.[27]

Elaborate pre-Reformation funerals with their attendant commemorations of the dead provided a rudimentary system of poor relief. The Hull poor, for example, between 1525 and 1543 received 10*s*. worth of bread on the death of Ellen Harman, three barrels of beer from Margaret Coole, 10*s*. in farthing loaves from Ann Den, a met of wheat and a met of malt from Agnes Elwalde and a barrel of beer, two dozen of bread and a stone of cheese from Jane Plaice. All this charity was traditional and indiscriminate. In 1557 Elizabeth Thorne seems to have given rather more thought to her philanthropy, contributing 6*s*. 8*d*. to the poor chest, £4 to the relief of the needy if a subsidy should be imposed within a year of her death (otherwise this, too, was to go in poor relief), 13*s*. 4*d*. to the chamber of Hull, 40*s*. to the repair of the highways, 40*s*. for dowries for poor maidens, 20*s*. to the poor at her burial and 3*s*. 4*d*. annually from a rent charge on her house.[28]

By and large the accession of Elizabeth brought a marked falling off in charitable giving by women testators in both towns. From 1559 until the end of the reign the more affluent left a few shillings, rarely more than one or two pounds to the poor at their death. Elinor Parote in 1566 exhibited more liberality in donating £1 annually to the poor besides 10*s*. for the highways and 10*s*. for mending the glass windows in Holy Trinity church. In 1568 Marjorie Oliver followed her lead and in addition to 10*s*. for the highways on this side of Bilton left £10 to the poor together with 20 stones of wool or its money equivalent. As late as 1591 Elizabeth Richardson could return to medieval precedents and assign £9 for the purchase of twelve gowns for twelve poor people. Apart from these particular bequests no Hull townswoman gave more than £5 to charity during the reign while in Leeds only one female testator, Isabel Foxcroft, bequeathed as much as £6 to the poor.[29]

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26. Prob. Reg. 30 f 493v-494r (Lupton); Prob. Reg. 31 f 596v (Conyers); Prob. Reg. 37 f 211v-212r (Gorrell); Prob. Ref. 42 f 372v-373r (Key); Orig. Wills Aug 1638 (Toothbie); Orig. Wills June 1649 (Horncastle); Orig. Wills Aug 1644 (Hackford); Orig. Wills Dec 1640 (Metcalf).
27. Prob. Reg. 9 f 272r-273r (Thurescross); Prob. Reg. 11 pt II f 620v-621r (Huntingdon); Prob. Reg. 13 pt I f 360v-362r (Matthewson); Prob. Reg. 15 pt I f 88v (Thorpe).
28. Prob. Reg. 9 f 354v (Harman); Prob. Reg. 11 pt II f 175r (Coole); op. cit. f 358v (Den); Prob. Reg. 11 pt II f 521r-v (Elwalde); op. cit. f 670r (Plaice); Prob. Reg. 15 pt I f 357v (Thorne).
29. Prob. Reg. 17 pt II f 649r-650r (Parote); op. cit. f 794r-v (Oliver); Prob. Reg. 25 pt I f 818r-v (Richardson); Prob. Reg. 23 f 554v-555r (Foxcroft).

Despite this frugality, some women in both towns were beginning to show a little interest in more varied forms of charity. Hull already had a grammar school, endowed by Bishop Alcock in 1485; Leeds had been less fortunate and its inhabitants consequently had to rely on their own efforts to bring about regular schooling in the parish. In 1552 Agnes Waide responded to local enterprise and donated 3*s*. 4*d*. to the Leeds schoolhouse. In Hull in the late Elizabethan period corporation attention turned especially towards the education of poor children which resulted in the founding of the aptly named Charity Hall. Dorothy Clarkson in 1593 rallied to the undertaking by giving 20*s*. to the poor children there who attracted another bequest from Ann Lister some thirty years later.[30]

Hand in hand with the advance of protestantism in both towns in the early seventeenth century went an increase, albeit a modest one, in charitable bequests by women testators. In 1625 in Hull Elizabeth Mawgham donated £5 to the repair of Holy Trinity, £5 to the poor of Hull, £3 to the poor of her birthplace, York, together with £3 for the mending of the highways between Hull and Anlaby. Ann Savidge in 1637 set aside 40*s*. for the repair of Holy Trinity, 20*s*. for the first poor scholar to go from the grammar school to Cambridge University after her death, 10*s*. to the poor in general and 20*s*. to forty poor widows and, much the most significant, £20 to the mayor and burgesses to put out on loan and use the interest to augment the salary of the assistant minister at Holy Trinity. In their turn Isabel Langcaster and Sarah Crispin in 1637 and 1638 left £3 and 40*s*. respectively towards the making of a new pulpit in the parish church.[31]

By the 1620s Leeds women were starting to emulate the generosity of some of their counterparts in Hull. In addition to twelve cottages given to the poor of Holbeck in perpetuity and £2 to the repair of the highway between Armley Lane and her newly built bridge, Isabel Walsh in 1623 left £20 to be lent at interest and the income used for poor relief. It was, moreover, a Leeds and not a Hull woman, Elizabeth Casson, who in 1634 devised the most ingenious scheme in either town to improve the poor both morally and materially by contributing £20 to be distributed over ten years to twenty poor and needy people who were 'willing and desirous to be catechized in the points of Christian religion by a minister of God's word lawfully ordained.' At each thrice yearly instruction session each poor person came away with a dole of 8*d*. and the minister responsible for their religious guidance received 6*s*. 8*d*. for his pains.[32]

Perhaps the very different natures of the two towns, (the parish of Leeds contained some dozen townships while from the beginning Hull had been a nucleated town) and the very late incorporation of Leeds, which did not happen until 1626, in some degree account for the very different patterns of charitable giving. While neither town produced more than a handful of substantial women benefactors, virtually half of all Hull women testators made at least a token gesture to charity at their death, while in Leeds less than one testator in three considered the poor.

In their religious and charitable interests but above all in their overriding concern for their families the priorities of these four hundred Leeds and Hull female testators very closely reflected those of their husbands, fathers and brothers in the period between 1520 and 1650. Elizabeth Dyneley of Wortley in the parish of Leeds, one of the daughters of the late William Dyneley, to cite but one example, ensured in 1589 that the residue of her estate went to her surviving married sister, Syth Thomas, while in Hull in the same decade Martha Hunter, singlewoman, conferred half her portion of her father's goods on

30. Prob. Reg. 13 f 946v (Waide); Prob. Reg. 25 pt II f 1364v-1365r (Clarkson); Prob. Reg. 36 f 671v-672r (Lister).
31. Prob. Reg. 38 f 584v-586r (Mawgham); Orig. Wills Aug 1638 (Savidge); Orig. Wills June 1637 (Langcaster); Orig. Wills July 1639 (Crispin).
32. Prob. Reg. 37 f 295v-296r (Walsh); Prob. Reg. 42 f 259r-260r (Casson).

her sister, Helen. Even when the law left women free to dispose of their property as they liked, they still normally favoured their next of kin. Time and again in both towns widows like Joan Wynsper in Hull in 1570 or Elizabeth Lister in Leeds in 1644 on their deathbeds expressed their intention of fulfilling the provisions regarding their children set out in their husband's wills. Before the Reformation Hull merchants of the stature of John Henryson, Thomas Huntingdon or Jeffrey Thurscross commissioned almost as many funeral masses and obits as the vowess, Joan Thurscross and similarly the devotion of Leeds men also did not significantly diverge from that of the townswomen. When protestantism had become entrenched in the two towns the childless James and Dorothy Clarkson of Hull in their wills revealed a comparable interest in both religion and good works, while in 1637 Katherine Thompson rewarded the three ministers of Holy Trinity with bequests which were identical to those given by her husband at his death three years previously. Rather than the women of Hull and Leeds initiating new departures, or indeed following a trend, these men and women seem far more often to have shared common preoccupations over the welfare of their families and communities. Whereas wills, therefore, provide information on a wide range of women not obtainable from any other source, this does not substantially alter the accepted interpretation of the mutual interdependence of men and women in the household in early modern England.[33]

33. Prob. Reg. 24 f 174v (Dyneley); Prob. Reg. 25 pt II f 1545r (Hunter); Prob. Reg. 17 pt I f 537r (John Wensper); Prob. Reg. 19 pt I f 13v (Joan Wensper); Orig. Wills May 1642 (Nicholas Lister); Orig. Wills Feb 1644/5 Elizabeth Lister); Prob. Reg. 9 f 328v-329r (Henryson); op. cit. f 382v (Huntingdon); op. cit. f 240v (Jeffrey Thurescross); op. cit. f 272r-273r (Joan Thurescross); Prob. Reg 23 pt I f 239r-240r (James Clarkson); Prob. Reg. 25 pt II f 1364v-1365r (Dorothy Clarkson); Prob. Reg. 42 f 372r-v (Cuthbert Thompson); Orig. Wills June 1638 (Katherine Thompson); Clark, *Working Life of Women*, especially pp. 11-13, 40-1.

THE WILL OF TROOPER OLDROYD OF HECKMONDWIKE — AN INCIDENT IN THE CIVIL WAR

By JOHN NUSSEY

The incident dealt with here may be of general interest in illustrating some of the obstacles that could hinder the transfer of the estates of soldiers killed on active service during the Civil War to the beneficiaries specified in their wills, and how in this particular case these obstacles were surmounted.

Among the clothiers in the West Riding woollen district who took an active part in the struggle between Royalists and Roundheads was Robert Oldroyd, a clothworker at Heckmondwike, in the parish of Birstall.[1] His father, Robert, had settled there, with a brother Michael, around the beginning of the seventeenth century, and the first record of the two Roberts in the parish is the baptism in Birstall church of Robert junior on 19 August 1610. There is no record that the younger Robert ever married, and his will, dated 17 March 1643/4, is the will of a man who had neither wife, children, nor brothers or sisters. By the time he was 25 years old, both Robert's parents had died, and although he had an uncle and young cousins living nearby, his will suggests that he was better disposed towards his friend Wilfred Peele, another clothier at Heckmondwike; for he not only appointed Peele his executor but bequeathed to him virtually the whole of his estate.[2]

The only other definitive record found of Oldroyd is his burial entry in the parish register of Market Drayton, Shropshire, for 22 March 1643/4, which reads:

> Vicesimo secondo die sepultus fuit Robert Oulride de Heckmondwicke parochia de Brestill in Comitatu Yorke, clothier.

His will papers confirm that he was a trooper[3] on the parliament side, and supply sufficient evidence to provide an outline of what happened to him after he received a fatal wound, and of the adventures of the will itself.[4]

The will filed with the probate papers at York in October 1644 was a certified copy of the original will, which had been confiscated in May 1644 by one of Prince Rupert's commanders; but the original appears to have been written out by the same man who

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1. Mention of Oldroyd is made by F. Peel, *Spen Valley Past and Present,* (1893), p.158; and by T. W. Thompson, *Spen Valley, a Local History,* (1925), pp.176 and 184.
2. *Y.A.S. Record Series,* Vol IV, (1888), Index of wills proved at York, October 1644: Oldridge, Robert, Hickmondwicke, par. Birstil, cloather.
3. A mounted soldier, one of a troop of horse.
4. The will papers contain no indication of Oldroyd's unit, and the records of men on the Parliament side are far fewer than those of men on the royalist side. In this case there is only circumstantial evidence to fall back on. Col. Lambert and Capt. Hodgeson had been ordered back into Yorkshire towards the end of February. Sir Thomas Fairfax himself was in Lancashire, directing the siege of Lathom House until, in the first week of March, he received orders to join his father in Yorkshire. He was replaced at Lathom by Sir William Fairfax, who must have proceeded there almost directly after his escape from Market Drayton on 5 March. Col. Mytton, who was also present at Market Drayton, was the governor of Wem, the Parliament's main garrison town in Shropshire; it is therefore unlikely that Oldroyd was under his command except possibly for the specific needs of the moment. One is left with the probability that Oldroyd (and his comrade Langsker) was serving under Sir William Fairfax, but whether as part of a small bodyguard or of a larger unit it is impossible to say.

wrote out the copy four months later. This is supported by the fact that the copy was predated to the time when Oldroyd was lying mortally wounded at Betton, a hamlet 2 miles north-east of Market Drayton, the very time when there was every reason for him to have made a written will. It is clear that hitherto Oldroyd had been content to discuss his testamentary intentions with his fellow trooper, Matthew Langsker, with whom he shared quarters.

From early 1644 — when Sir Thomas Fairfax and his parliamentary forces, including recruits from amongst the clothiers of the West Riding, had marched south to the relief of Nantwich[5] — Cheshire and the Shropshire border had been kept relatively clear of royalist forces. Fairfax himself had later returned to Lancashire to besiege Lathom House, the stronghold of the Earl of Derby, but Sir William Fairfax, Sir Thomas's cousin, had remained behind in command of forces sufficient to reduce the smaller royalist garrisons and generally maintain the Cheshire area under parliamentary control.

Prince Rupert had been appointed Captain-General of the royalist forces in Worcester, Shropshire, North Wales, Cheshire, and Lancashire on 6 January 1643/4, but not arriving in Shrewsbury, his temporary headquarters, until 18 February, was too late to prevent the raising of the siege of Nantwich.[6] Occupied as he was in training and organizing levies from Ireland, no specific local military action is reported of him until 4 March, when he received word that a body of parliamentary horse under Sir William Fairfax and Colonel Mytton was quartered in Market Drayton. With what mounted troops he could gather, the Prince hastened towards the town, and entering it after nightfall, surprised the parliamentarians by the fury of his attack. Some were captured, whilst others fled out of the town eastwards and then, turning north, escaped to the safety of Nantwich.[7] Within a day or two, the survivors and all remaining forces from Yorkshire were recalled via Lancashire to join the rest of the forces under Sir Thomas Fairfax, and in turn took part in the battle of Selby on 11 April and the siege of York which followed. Thus the action at Market Drayton was for the time being the last engagement of the Yorkshire parliamentarians in those parts.

The subsequent course of events affecting Oldroyd bears out the probability that he received his fatal wound in this action. The probate papers refer to "the wound whereof he died", and to the Betton woman "who tended him in his sicknesse till his death". We are told also that he made his will on 17 March, "being sicke in body", and that he was buried on 22 March. The village of Betton, in which he was sheltered and nursed, was moreover just outside Market Drayton in the line of escape of the parliamentarians making for the safety of Nantwich.

According to the probate papers, Oldroyd signed his will in the presence of four witnesses: John Brerehurst of Betton; Edward Ashley of Blore, a hamlet 2½ miles south-east of Betton, across the River Tern in Staffordshire; Mary Stringer of Betton, who nursed Oldroyd and signed by mark; and John Peate, who designated himself "scriptor" and was without much doubt the clerk or attorney who wrote out the will. A Market Drayton surgeon named John Hoggins who later was a witness to the correctness of the substitute will did not sign at this time.

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5. Nantwich was the Parliament's chief garrison and administrative centre in Cheshire. Its relief on 24 January removed a serious threat to the relative stability of the county, in which Chester itself remained loyal to King Charles. Chester was the port of arrival of the levies from Ireland on whom the King built high hopes; the control of the routes from it southwards through Cheshire and Shropshire towards Oxford was in more or less continual contention between local forces of each side, and occasionally, as here, a secondary objective of larger-scale operations.
6. W. J. Farrow, *The Great Civil War in Shropshire (1642-49)*, (1926), p.58.
7. *Lancashire & Cheshire Record Society Series*, Vol XIX, (1889): The diaries of Thomas Malbon and Rev. E. Burghall of Acton, p.123. Also Eliot Warburton, *Memoirs of Prince Rupert and the Cavaliers*, (1849), Vol II, p.389.

At this period Betton consisted of little more than Betton Hall, a modest timber-framed dwelling on the south-east side of the lane leading to Market Drayton, still inhabited though extensively modernized, and on the opposite side of the lane the manor farmhouse, possibly then already built in stone. To-day, there are other buildings in the vicinity, including a more ostentatious Betton Hall, but these are of later date. There must therefore have been very few persons living in the hamlet, and it seems likely that John Brerehurst, who appears all the way through events at Betton as playing the leading part and as having some degree of education, was the occupier of Betton Hall. The manor of Betton, together with the neighbouring estate of Tunstall, was owned by Thomas Church, who lived at Tunstall Hall, a large brick and stone residence halfway between Betton and Market Drayton. His forebears had lived at Nantwich, and becoming wealthy in the salt trade during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, had purchased the Tunstall and Betton estates, which then passed down through the senior line of the family. The original family house in Nantwich was bequeathed to a junior branch. Whilst this junior branch was puritan and supported Parliament in the Civil War, the Tunstall branch was royalist.[8] Clearly then Brerehurst, whose actions could already have attracted attention, would have needed to be cautious in fulfilling any obligations to the dead trooper in the way of his will. There were indeed further reasons for his being so.

During the two months following Oldroyd's death and the withdrawal from the Cheshire scene of Sir Thomas Fairfax and all his forces, the influence of Prince Rupert in the north-west Midlands steadily increased. The morale of his men had been raised by the success of his brief expedition to the relief of Newark, where on 21 March he gained a decisive victory over Sir John Meldrum, and on his return he was able for the most part to keep the Roundheads shut up in their garrisons.[9] Although in the course of this period the parliamentary forces in Yorkshire were given a vital boost by the defeat of Lord Belasyse at Selby on 11 April,[10] York itself remained in royalist hands and business at the probate registry is likely to have been at a standstill as far as Roundhead wills were concerned. For all these reasons, therefore, it is not surprising that Oldroyd's will was still in Brerehurst's possession on 21 May.

But the parliamentary victory at Selby forced the royalist army under the Marquis of Newcastle, the King's commander in the north, to fall back before the advancing Scots in order to defend the city of York. Here, within its walls, in the third week of April the royalists were surrounded by the joint forces of the Scots and the Fairfaxes, who laid siege to the city. This sudden change in the situation in Yorkshire had effects that were far-reaching, and Betton did not escape them.

Alarmed by the turn of events, the King called a council of war at Oxford, to which Prince Rupert rode in from Shrewsbury, to consider how to meet the threat to the royalist hold on Yorkshire. It was decided that the Prince should march north to the relief of York, his plan being to proceed from Shrewsbury through Lancashire, taking Liverpool on the way, and thence in a wide arc to York. He left Shrewsbury on 16 May, his immediate objectives not yet clear to the parliamentarians in Cheshire.[11] Accounts differ in details, but he appears to have advanced on a broad front embracing Wem, Whitchurch, Market Drayton, Audlem, and Woore. On Monday, 20 May, Rupert

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8. *Harleian Society Publications,* Vol XXVIII, "Robert Treswell's Visitation of Shropshire, 1623: The Church family of Betton". Also the *Official Guide* to Churche's Mansion, Nantwich, Cheshire.
9. Warburton, op. cit. p.389. According to the "Journal of Prince Rupert's Marches" [C. H. Firth, *English Historical Review,* Vol XIII, (1898), p.735], Rupert's route to Newark took him well to the south of Market Drayton.
10. P. R. Newman, "The defeat of John Belasyse: Civil War in Yorkshire, January — April 1644", *Y.A.J.,* Vol 52, (1980), p.128.
11. C. V. Wedgwood, *The King's War, 1641 — 1647,* (1966), pp.299-300.

himself slept at Market Drayton, and went on the next day to Betley, in Staffordshire, ten miles to the north-east.[12]

On this latter day, Brerehurst received a visit from a group of soldiers under the command of one of the Prince's officers, Major Sir Thomas Dalison, who had billeted himself at Tunstall Hall.[13] The soldiers demanded Oldroyd's will, and when, as one is left to infer, Brerehurst protested, they took him prisoner and marched him up to Tunstall Hall before their Major. Sir Thomas, evidently glancing through the will, made scornful comment on its legality, saying that as soon as the Roundheads were defeated, their estates would all be forfeit to the King. For his part, Brerehurst appears to have been able to limit his liability in the matter to that of being no more than a witness, and was discharged. But the will was confiscated.

It is surprising that at the outset of such an important enterprise as the advance to the relief of York must have been, one of Rupert's commanders could concern himself with the will of an enemy trooper killed two months earlier, particularly since the neighbourhood had all that while been virtually under royalist control. It may be significant that Brerehurst later reported that Dalison's soldiers had included men who were familiar with the Heckmondwike district. He was able to find out that the names of four of them were John Holmes, John Jackson, John Hague, and Edward Briggs. All these surnames occur in Birstall parish at this period, and more specifically there were a John Holmes and a John Jackson who were of a likely age; but the evidence is too scanty for any serious identification. One is left to suspect that this could be an example of the opportunities the Civil War offered to men on one side to give expression to their ill-feeling towards neighbours on the other.

Had the King's forces prevailed, the confiscation of Oldroyd's will would no doubt have been the end of the matter; at least this account would not have come to be written. But the royalist defeat at Marston Moor on 2 July 1644 restored Yorkshire and the north-west Midlands to parliamentary control, and gave various individuals the freedom to follow their personal interests. It is to Matthew Langsker that we must first return.

Langsker is referred to in the will papers as a cloth-worker, of Leeds. There was a successful but not very numerous clothmaking family of this name at Leeds at this time, and from their records there is not much doubt that Matthew was a younger son of Thomas Langsker of Marsh Lane, who was a founder-member as well as Assistant and Freeman of the Guild of Clothworkers constituted in the Borough in 1630.[14] Matthew's baptism on 23 February 1609/10 would make him about six months older than Robert Oldroyd, and they could have become acquainted in the cloth trade and possibly have enlisted together. The first record of Langsker after the engagement at Market Drayton on 4 March is his presence on 1 October 1644, together with Wilfred Peele, before a notary public (Thomas Thompson), when they both signed an affidavit supporting the contents of the will. The place where this occurred is not stated on the document; but in one corner of it, upside down and apparently written in the same hand after the sheet had been folded, are two names (Frances [? Hanwell] and Jane Scrivener) followed by the remark: both living in Wortley. This might suggest Leeds as the scene of the affidavit, a place one would expect to have been convenient to both parties. But Langsker is likely to have been back in Yorkshire by the time Sir William Fairfax returned there towards the end of March, and being familiar with Oldroyd's intentions, to have sought out the

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12. Malbon and Burghall, op. cit. p.129.
13. J. Burke, *Landed Gentry,* 15th edition, (1937). p.552: Dalison of Hamptons. Sir Thomas Dalison was the son of Sir Roger Dalison, Bt. of Laughton, Lincs., which had been the family's seat for at least five earlier generations. He was killed the following year at the battle of Naseby, the title then becoming extinct.
14. The registers of the parish church of Leeds. Also J. Kirby, "The Manor and Borough of Leeds, 1425 — 1662", *Thoresby Society Publications,* Vol LVII, no.127, (1983): pp. 58, 59: 249: 221, 222.

latter's executor at the first opportunity.

Wilfred Peele was the son of Nicholas Peele of Robertown. Baptized on 1 September 1611, he was just about a year younger than Oldroyd. In 1631 he had come into possession of The Hollins, Heckmondwike, by his marriage with his father's ward Elizabeth, orphaned daughter of Nicholas Peele's late friend William Walker who had died there in 1630. Elizabeth inherited one half of her father's estate, and she and Wilfred were living at The Hollins at latest by 1635 (when their second child was born), and probably from the time of their marriage. Wilfred himself, by the death of his father in 1640, inherited the reversion after death of his mother of other property in Heckmondwike. It seems likely that Oldroyd was fully aware of his friend's sound financial position before he set off for the war.

The fact that Wilfred Peele was not only the sole executor of Oldroyd's will but also its principal beneficiary may have been the driving force behind the subsequent moves to settle Oldroyd's estate. He would seem to have set off for Cheshire about three weeks or less after the battle of Marston Moor and, probably going by what he had heard from Langsker and discovered from the parliamentary authorities at Nantwich, to have paid a visit to Betton and heard the full story of Oldroyd's death and the loss of the will. At Market Drayton, on 25 July, he got John Brerehurst of Betton, Edward Ashley of Blore, John Hoggins of Market Drayton, surgeon, and John Peate, scriptor, to testify before a local committee that Robert Oldroyd had by his will bequeathed all his lands, goods and chattells to him and his heirs for ever. Although not strictly reflecting the whole facts of the will, this apparently served to enable him to prosecute his claims at the formal hearing of his case at Nantwich. There, on 29 July, in his own presence and that of all the witnesses of the original will, a writing in John Peate's hand was produced to the parliamentary committees[15] purporting to be a true copy of Oldroyd's will; and having heard the evidence, they certified the document as an acceptable substitute for the original.

The notable features of the substitute will are its predating to 17 March and its detailed and assured wording. The date might have been remembered by some or all of the witnesses as the date of the signing of the original will, but the seeming authenticity of the whole document suggests that John Peate drew up both the original and the copy, and that the latter was accurate, or virtually so. He may even have kept a rough draft of the original.

The certified copy of the will, accompanied by the Market Drayton and Nantwich documents, was evidently filed at the York probate registry together with the statements sworn on 1 October by Langsker and Peele. No further certificate or bond was found with them, but they are filed in the bundle of wills proved in October 1644. A transcript of the various documents is appended hereto.

The provisions of the will were straightforward. Apart from legacies of five shillings to his uncle Michael Oldroyd and of twelve pence to each of Michael's children, to bar him and his heirs from any further claim on the estate, Robert Oldroyd bequeathed all his estate to Wilfred Peele; what it amounted to remains unknown. One of the recipients of a twelve-penny legacy would have been Richard Oldroyd, the youngest of Michael's

15. The Nantwich "committees" (persons to whom a charge is committed) were a committee, or council, of 23 members appointed to administer those parts of Cheshire under the control of Parliament. Sixteen of the members were Deputy Lieutenants of the county appointed by Parliament, of whom at any given time thirteen were effective. These included Sir George Booth of Dunham Massey, his younger son John (Governor of Warrington), and his grandson George; also Sir William Brereton. (Sir William, however, was absent attending parliament for the period February to August 1644). The other seven members were supernumeraries. [J. S. Morrill, *Cheshire 1630 — 1660,* (1974), p.83]. Of the signatories whose names below the right-hand side of Oldroyd's will are legible, Henry Brooke and Boothe (assuming this to be the signature of Sir George Booth) were deputy lieutenants.

sons and father of Hannah, who as the wife of George Nussey of Rydings, was the great-grandmother of Charlotte Brontë's friend Ellen Nussey. But since at that time Richard was only 15 years old, Hannah can hardly be supposed to have enjoyed much benefit from it. Perhaps in her childhood days at home she heard occasional mention of her relative, the trooper. His story does not, however, appear to have come down to her great-grandchildren and might, but for the freaks of fortune, have remained in oblivion.

APPENDIX

Transcript of Oldroyd's will and related documents

1. *The certified copy of the will*

In the name of God Amen the seaventeenth day of Ma[rch][16] / Anno Dom[in]i 1643 in the 19th yeare of the raiyne of our sou[vr]an / Lord Charles by the grace of god of England Scotland / France and Ireland King defender of the faith etc. I Robert / Oldridge of Hickmondwicke in the Parish of Birstill / in the County of Yorke Cloathier being sicke in body but of / good and p[er]fect memory praysed be god there fore doe make / and ordeyne this my last will and Testam[en]t in manner / and forme following (that is to say) First I bequeath / my soule to Almighty God my Creator and maker and / to Jesus Christ my Redeemer and Saviour And my body / to the Earth from whence it came for decent / Christian burial /

Item I give and bequeath unto Michael Oldroyde my Unckle the / some of Five shillings and to every one of his Children / twelve pence a peece which is to barre him and his heires / from all other claymes or demands whatsoever. /

Item I give and bequeath to Wilfray Peele of Hickmondwicke in / the Parish of Birstill as above sayd Clothier all my Lands / Goods Cattells and Chattells to him and his heires for ever / whatsoever or wheresoever with all deeds writings inscripts and / minumente whatsoever concerning me the sayd Robert or / concerning my estate, he the sayd Wilfray Peele paying / and discharging all my prop[?er] personal debts & legacies / by me owing and bequeathed And of this my last Will and / Testam[en]t I make constitute and ordeyne the sayd Wilfrey / Peele my true and lawfull Executor, And in case of / mortality of him the sayd Wilfray Peele I make and ordaine / Jeremy Peele sonne of the sayd Wilfry Peele his / heires Executors Administrators and Assignes my true / and lawfull Executor or Executors. In / witnesse whereof I have to this my last will and Testam[en]t / put to my hand and seale the day and yeare above / written.

Witnesses to the will
John Brerehurst of Betton
Edward Ashley of Blore
John Peate scripto[r]
the mark of
Mary *M* Stringer
of Betton who tended him
in his sicknesse till
his death

July 29th 1644 These may certify all whom it may concer[n] that wee have recd good testy-monye that the wryting above specyfied is a true Coppy of the substance of the last Will of Robt Oldridg[e] deceased

signed
Geo Spintom H. Brooke
Will Massie Boothe
John Louthiam [. . . . . .]
Gilbert Gerrard William Dinsee

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16. The will is damaged at this corner, and only the first two letters of the month can be identified with certainty. There is, however, no sign of the tail of a *y* immediately following the *a*. The regnal-year dating is of no help, for 19 Charles I embraced both 17 May 1643 and 17 March 1643/4. But the month was read as March by the compiler of the Y.A.S. Record Series Will Index in 1888 (although he added a question mark).

Langsker's evidence seems to emphasize that Oldroyd had still made no will up to quite a short time before he received his fatal wound. This, together with the circumstantial evidence as a whole, fits very well with a date of 17 March 1643/4 for the signing of the will. None of it offers any support for the alternative date of 17 May 1643 which, apart from other difficulties, would require Oldroyd, sick in body, to have signed his will in the presence of the Betton witnesses over ten months before his burial at Market Drayton. There can be little doubt that March is the correct reading.

2. *Witnesses' deposition, Market Drayton*

To all Christian People to whom these p[re]sents shall concern Now know ye that wee whose names are here subscribed doe hereby testify and declare that Robert Oldridge of Heckmanwicke deceased did freely by his last will and Testam[en]t give and bequeath unto Wilfrayd Peele of Heckmanwicke aforesayd all his lands goods cattells and Chattells to him & his heires for ever And for confirmac[i]on of the p[re]misses we whose names are subscribed will averre upon oath whensoever we shall bee there unto lawfully called that the Testators declarac[i]on unto us was to this end and purpose.

Salop Com[itatus], Drayton the 25th July 1644
Testes
John Brerehurst of Betton
Edward Ashley of Blore
Jno. Hoggines of Drayton Chyrurgus
John Peate scrip[tor]

3. *Brerehurst's deposition*

Memorand[um] that ye 21st of May 1644 being Tuesday there came to mee to my house in Betton many Souldyers beeinge under ye Command of Prince Rupert as hee was upon his march towards Leverpole who demanded ye Body of ye Last will & Testament of Robert Oldroyde and did take mee Presoner before ye Commander who lay at Mr Thomas Church of Betton whose name was Sir Thomas Dalleson major to Prince Ruporte which sayd for ye will it was noe matter for yf his Ma[jes]tie P[re]vealed all ye Roundheads lands were ye Kings and soe I beeing butt a Wittnesse was discharged but could not have ye will againe. Ye Men that had ye will did say the[y] did know ye land of Robert Ouldroyde ve[r]y well but their names I doe not know but as I am informed som of their names were John Hoomes: John Jackson: John Hage: Edward Brigs: souldyers of Sir Thomas Dalleson & for this I am ready to depose yf neede require witnesse my hand to this

[signed] John Brerehurst of Betton

4. *Peele's and Langsker's affidavits*

Primo die Octobris 1644 Coram ven[erabil]i viro Gulielmo Smith Cl[er]ico sub[stitu]to ven[erabi]lis viri Johannis Levet legum doctoris Com[missa]rii l[egi]time sub[stit]uto in pr[esen]tia mei Thome Thompson No[ta]rii publici

Comp[arui]t: Mattheus Langskar de Leeds in Com[itatu] Ebor[aci] Cloth worker et virtute juram[en]ti sui prestiti affirmavit That Robt Oldridge the Testator being a Trowper, hee said Matthew Langskar was his bedfellow and Comrade, and he heard the said Testator divers and sundry times say and affirm to the same effect as is contained in his written will, and especially not long before he received the wound whereof he dyed.

Et ulter Wilfridus Peele executor ejusdem Tes[tamen]ti virtue juram[ent]i sui in ea p[ar]te prestiti affirma[vit] That he was p[re]sent w[it]h all the witnesses mentioned in the foote of the said will at Namptewich, who did all and sundry of them affirme (being examined by the said Committees) that in this paper was contained the last will and testam[en]t of the said deceased agreeing in sense and substance w[it]h the will of the said deceased which was written in his life time, and by the testator and being in p[er]fect mynd and memory signed sealed and acknowledged by him in their p[re]sence And the said John Breerhurst one of the witnesses did then further affirme That the originall will soe made signed and sealed and acknowledged, was violently taken from him.

[signed]
Wilfray Peele
Matthew Langskere

THE DEVELOPMENT OF COAL MINING ON THE NORFOLK AND ROCKINGHAM-FITZWILLIAM ESTATES IN SOUTH YORKSHIRE 1750-1830

By IAN R. MEDLICOTT

The Norfolk and Rockingham-Fitzwilliam families made a significant contribution to the development of the South Yorkshire coal industry, through the provision of capital investment in large-scale mining. The Sheffield estate of the Dukes of Norfolk consisted of some 20,000 acres, of which 8,000 acres was moorland, whilst immediately adjacent to its northern boundary lay the 15,000 acres of the Wentworth estate belonging to the Rockingham-Fitzwilliam family. Through their estates ran the rich Barnsley, Parkgate and Silkstone coal seams, that covered the whole range of steam, manufacturing, house, gas, and coking coal. In close proximity to the coal seams lay beds of ironstone which facilitated the parallel development and inter-dependence of the coal and iron industries in South Yorkshire. The collieries provided fuel for the furnaces and placed regular orders for iron goods. The level of capital investment required for large-scale mining became increasingly beyond the means of the sole capitalist entrepreneur of the mid-eighteenth century, and it was at this point that the great land-owner took on the role of colliery proprietor. However, the expansion of the colliery unit in turn created problems associated with mine technology, transport, markets, investment, leases, management and accountancy, and on their solution depended the continued expansion and long-term viability of the coal industry.

The British coal industry underwent a period of rapid expansion after 1750, stimulated by the widespread adoption of coke in the iron smelting process and Henry Cort's reverberatory furnace. In particular, there was the development of the inland coalfields of the East and West Midlands, Lancashire and Yorkshire, following the construction of river navigations, canals and waggonways, where previously the prohibitive cost of moving coal had severely restricted sales and the exploitation of the coal reserves. In 1757, for example, a group of Liverpool merchants completed the Sankey Brook Navigation that assisted in opening up the South-West Lancashire Coalfield. Further east the Bridgewater Canal enabled the Duke of Bridgewater to reduce the price of coal in Manchester from his Worsley collieries. In the West Midlands the construction of a canal network was a major factor in the industrial development of the 2nd Earl of Dudley's estate near Birmingham. On the Yorkshire coalfield, exploitation of the coal reserves was given an impetus by the completion of the Aire and Calder and River Don Navigations, and by the connecting waterways of the Barnsley, Dearne and Dove, and Sheffield canals.

The period 1750 to 1830 was also one of technological improvements that allowed deeper-mined coal to be extracted and moved to the surface more efficiently. However, the coal industry was not transformed by a single technological innovation, but by a combination of improvements from several mine engineers from the major coalfields. As collieries became more extensive and profitable, and mine technology advanced, there followed a rise in the purchase of high-cost capital equipment, such as atmospheric pumping and steam winding engines, four-wheeled corves and waggonways, that enabled a dramatic increase in coal output. Much of the capital investment in canals and

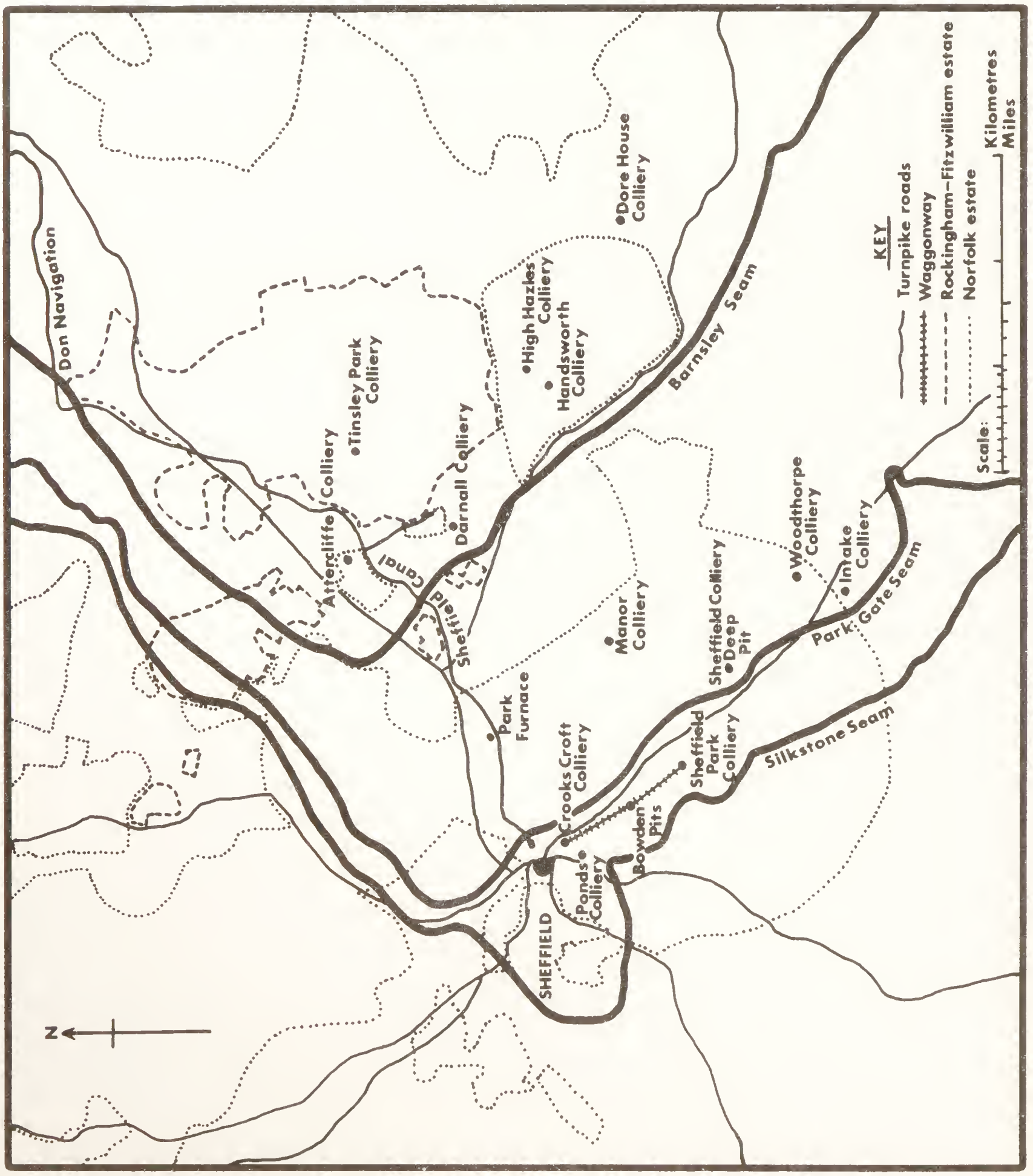

Fig. 1. Collieries on the Sheffield Estate 1750—1830

collieries was undertaken by the landed interest, who realised the potential increase in revenue through the industrialisation of their estates.

Let us turn to the Norfolk and Rockingham-Fitzwilliam estates, to assess their contribution to the large-scale development of the South Yorkshire Coalfield.

Coal mining on the Sheffield estate was dependent upon a large local market which consisted of a rising population, expansion of the fine-edged tool manufacture, and the emergence of the heavy iron and steel industry. Indeed, the expansion of industrial activity on the Sheffield estate during the eighteenth century provides one of the few examples of a landed estate heavily dependent upon industrial rents for a large part of its revenue. Out of a total revenue of £13,206 5*s* 7½*d* in 1761/2, the income from forges and furnaces amounted to £3,851 9*s* 0½*d*, and that from the Manor and Wood Pits £1,184 4*s* 4*d*.[1]

On the Wentworth estate the lack of a developed local market and the high cost of transport by road restricted the exploitation of coal, especially in those areas located away from the Don Navigation, that skirted the eastern boundary of the estate. During the 1750s, for example, only two 'hewers' were employed at the Elsecar Colliery and seven at the nearby Lowwood Colliery, with mining often being a seasonal activity. The Elsecar colliers could still be seen thatching, hay-making, and ditching during the months of July and August in the 1760s, and just prior to 20 October 1770, the workers had been laid off for 20 weeks. By contrast, collieries located near the River Don could take advantage of the low cost of water transport to open up a wider geographical market and sink more extensive mines. On the Wentworth estate, John Bowden employed 12 'getters' at £21 per man at the Carr House Colliery in 1750, and following the completion of the Don Navigation from Tinsley to the Humber estuary, William and Thomas Fenton opened the Basingthorpe Colliery in 1758. This latter colliery employed 16 'colliers' at £40 per man, which increased the revenue from coal mining to £1,379 19*s* 0*d* out of the total estate revenue of £11,072 1*s* 11½*d* in 1761/2.[2]

Although initially the Duke of Norfolk and the Rockingham-Fitzwilliams were reluctant proprietors, they did assume direct control of their collieries when capitalist entrepreneurs were not forthcoming. This appeared to have been the case in 1758, when John Bowden's lease of the Manor Colliery and Wood Pits expired. An abandonment of the mines would have left the Sheffield manufacturers without coal, and put in jeopardy their rents payable to the estate. Therefore, over the following seven years, the collieries came under direct estate management until lessees were found in Townsend and Furniss, who were granted a lease for £1,000 per annum in 1765.[3] This provided Norfolk with an income similar to that when the collieries were under direct control, but without the financial risk of management.

Even when landowners chose to lease their mines, viewers had to be employed to report on the condition of the mines and recommend improvements, as any mismanagement could lead to a serious loss of revenue. A report on the Sheffield Park Colliery in 1773, for example, suggested that the number of working pits be reduced from five to four, and gins be installed to draw the larger 16 peck corves (1.25 cwt). Of greater importance was the recommendation to construct a waggonway from the pit to the Sheffield Coalyard to alleviate the severe competition from a colliery on Attercliffe Common, which had the benefit of lower transport costs. The report claimed that the waggonway would reduce the cost per load (42.5 cwt) of coal from 2*s* 6*d* to 1*s* 0*d*, and

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1. Arundel Castle Manuscripts (subsequently referred to as A.C.M.) S195 B Sheffield Central Library (subsequently referred to as S.C.L.)
2. Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments (subsequently referred to as W.W.M.) F98, A238 S.C.L.
3. The 9th Duke of Norfolk purchased John Bowden's Sheffield collieries for £194 16*s* 9½*d* in 1765. Townsend and Furniss leased the Gleadless Colliery for £50 per annum in 1777. A.C.M. S195 S.C.L.

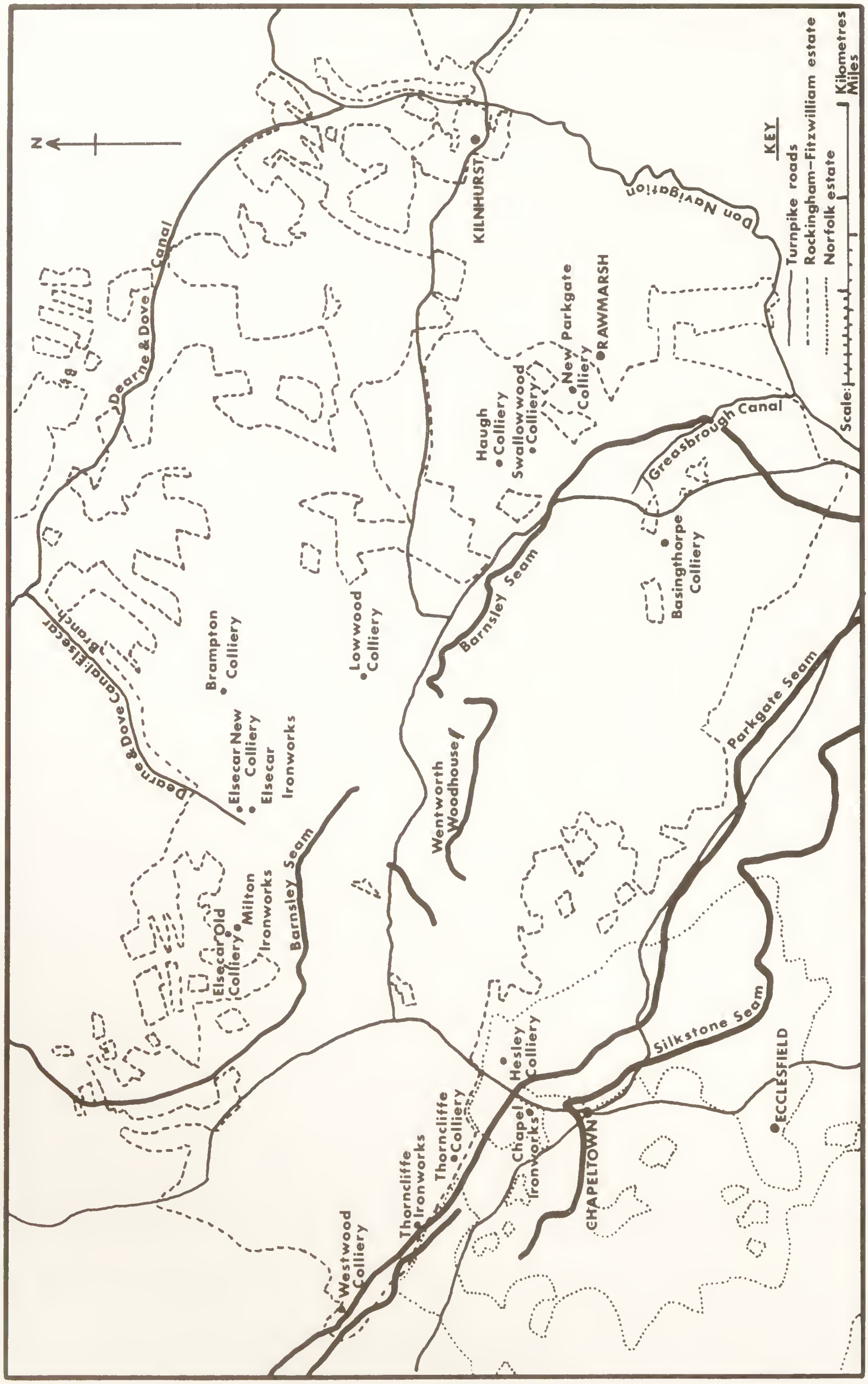

Fig. 2. Collieries on the Wentworth Estate 1750—1830

enable Norfolk to raise the colliery rental. A new lease of the collieries was drawn up in 1774 and the rents were raised, until by 1779, the lessees were paying £460 more than on their old rent.[4]

The loan repayments of £5,200 and revised rental proved too great a financial burden, especially when profits were further eroded following an increase in production costs as the workings moved away from the town and deeper under the Park where severe geological faulting was encountered. In addition, the proportion of uneconomic small coal to hard coal rose from 5:3 in 1774 to 3:1 by 1779. These factors contributed to a deficit of £60 by Christmas 1778, with a forecast of £250 in 1779. Furthermore, by 1781, the lessees were losing an average £100 per annum on the Gleadless Colliery. As a consequence, the lessees surrendered their lease on Lady Day 1781, and the collieries once more came under direct estate management.[5] New lessees would not have been attracted to an unprofitable enterprise that required considerable investment to overcome the geological difficulties, as well as being faced with acute local competition in a depressed coal market. But to have abandoned the collieries would have involved the loss of existing capital and revenue, wasted an estate resource and irreparably damaged the Sheffield manufacturers. The Sheffield estate appears to have been the only organization with sufficient capital, prepared to manage such a high risk venture.

There are many similarities in the development of coalmining on the Sheffield and Wentworth estates during the latter half of the eighteenth century. The Marquis of Rockingham also preferred to lease his coal, for on the acquisition of the Skiers estate in 1749, the Elsecar Colliery was offered on lease to Richard Bingley, lessee of the Lowwood Colliery. The lease allowed Bingley to employ two 'hewers' at £35 10*s* 0*d* per annum with two years rent free, provided the drainage levels were cleaned and repaired, otherwise a fine of £200 was to be paid. If the lease was taken up, it was soon surrendered, for on 1 September 1752 Rockingham employed Thomas Smith as manager with instructions to start production.[6] Although the Colliery provided only a small revenue, to have closed the mine would have meant the under-utilisation of an estate resource and the interruption of coal supplies to industrial and domestic consumers. Rockingham was therefore obliged to take direct control of the mine.

The opportunity to divest his interest in the Elsecar Colliery arose in 1757/8, when a consortium comprising of Hall, Jones, and Smith, the previous manager, took over the lease of the Elsecar, Kilnhurst, and Westwood collieries at £340 per annum. However, a slump in the local trade saw Hall and Co. relinquish the Elsecar and Westwood collieries in 1763, whilst at the same time Bowden surrendered the Carr House Colliery on payment of £600, and Bingley's executors did not renew the Lowwood Colliery lease. This left Rockingham in possession of the Lowwood, Elsecar, and Westwood collieries.[7]

Although Rockingham was a reluctant proprietor, his notebooks and memoranda show a genuine interest in the collieries and a desire to find new markets. Instructions were given to build a kiln to produce pantiles with the quantity of coal required, notes on carrying coal by cart to Rawmarsh and returning with lime, experiments on the distillation of tar from coal and advantages of carrying coal into Manchester on the

4. The Sheffield Park Colliery worked at a depth of 50 fathoms and drew coal in 'kibbles' holding 10 pecks (0.78 cwt) fixed to sledge-trams. The waggonway constructed of oak and beech rails ran for 1¾ miles and cost £3,280. The new rental terms catered for a fixed rent at the Sheffield Park Colliery of £1,000 per annum and 44*s* per ten (38 tons) on all coal worked above 600 tens (19,800 tons). At the Manor Colliery the fixed rent was £50 plus 8*d* per cart load (17 cwt) above 4,400 cart loads (3,800 tons). A.C.M. S215, S217, S218 S.C.L. R. A. Mott, "Tramroads of the Eighteenth Century and their Originator, John Curr", *Transactions of the Newcomen Society*, Volume XVII (1969-70), p.4.
5. A.C.M. S217, S218, S220, SD4, S.C.L.
6. W.W.M. F96 S.C.L.
7. Fairbank Collection 12, W.W.M. R222, S.C.L. Messrs. Fenton took over the Bowden lease.

Worsley Canal.[8] Even so, the high cost of road transport prevented the realization of a more extensive coal market, and the collieries continued to be worked on a small scale with little capital investment.

The profitable Basingthorpe Colliery continued under Fenton and Co., but whilst it lay only 2¾ miles from the Don Navigation, it still faced the cost of moving the coal to the waterway. It was in an attempt to reduce these costs that Rockingham decided to construct the Greasbrough Canal from the colliery to the Don Navigation. A survey for the canal was made by John Varley as early as 1769, but it was not until 1779 that work commenced and then after further surveys by John Smeaton and William Jessop. Construction of the canal was undertaken by Jessop and Gott with expenditure on the canal, reservoir and lime kilns amounting to £3,844 between 1779 and 1784. On completion of the canal in 1784, it was rented to Thomas and William Fenton at £500 per annum, which enabled Rockingham, to recoup the capital outlay within eight years. The potential for increased profits to the Fentons enabled Rockingham to raise the Colliery rental from £648 to £2,300 per annum on renewal of the lease in 1779.[9] The Marquis of Rockingham was prepared to invest in high cost capital projects only where there promised to be a considerable and secure financial return.

On the death of Rockingham in 1782, the Wentworth estate passed to his nephew, the 4th Earl Fitzwilliam. Initially, Fitzwilliam lacked technical knowledge and experience of colliery management. This was indicated in a letter to Benjamin Hall, House Steward, 18 February 1783: 'I return to you the inclos'd draft of agreement for sinking a new pit at Lowwood Colliery, of which I am not a competent judge, & therefore leave it entirely to your experience'.[10] Fitzwilliam thought of leasing the Lowwood Colliery following an offer made by Messrs. Fenton, but this was rejected on seeing the colliery's profits over the previous seven years. Advice on the future working and condition of the colliery was sought from John Stephenson, viewer and manager of Kimberworth Colliery, Rotherham, in 1790. Stephenson commented on the poor conditions of the Elsecar and Lowwood soughs, advised against opening a new mine due to the depressed state of the market or in joining a consortium of local coal owners, but instead suggested opening new coal reserves. This advice was apparently acted upon, as boreholes to find coal were sunk in the Elsecar valley, along with a plan to drive a level to drain 145 acres of coal and a scheme to construct a canal from the Don Navigation. The canal scheme was abandoned in favour of a plan, put forward by the proprietors of the Aire and Calder and Don Navigation Companies, to construct the Dearne and Dove Canal with a branch to Elsecar. This offered a more extensive coal market and appears to have persuaded Fitzwilliam to sink a major colliery in Elsecar, a decision that would have been reinforced by the action of Darwin and Co., who took out a lease to establish an ironworks adjacent to the colliery.

The landed proprietors of the Sheffield and Wentworth estates in 1781 and 1794 respectively, embarked on the large-scale exploitation of their coal reserves — the former to overcome adverse geological and market conditions and protect the Sheffield manufacturers and revenues of the estate, whilst the latter sought to exploit the wider geographical market offered by the Dearne and Dove Canal.

Between 1781 and 1786, the initial capital investment on the Sheffield estate was

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8. W.W.M. R174, R175. S.C.L.
9. I. R. Medlicott, 'The Landed Interest and the Development of the South Yorkshire Coalfield 1750-1830' (unpublished M.Phil. thesis, Open University, 1981), pp. 87-89 (subsequently referred to as Medlicott, M.Phil. thesis). In 1790, the Basingthorpe Colliery was allowed to extract 18,500 waggons (40,769 tons) and according to Michael Hague, overlooker at the Elsecar Colliery, they could make a clear profit of £1,526 per annum. W.W.M. F70 S.C.L.
10. W.W.M. St.P.3 S.C.L.

introduced by trustees whose numbers included the Earls of Scarbrough and Strafford, owners of considerable coal-bearing estates, whilst the services of John Curr, viewer from County Durham who was in the employment of the estate, could be called upon. By 1784, the trustees had expended £4,700 on the Wood Pits, and by 1793 the total expenditure on the collieries had amounted to £20,000. Curr, who was appointed as 'Superintendent of the coalworks of his Grace the Duke of Norfolk' supervised the sinking of new collieries and the introduction of high-cost capital equipment, much of which was his own innovation. There followed expenditure on four-wheeled corves, plate-ways, conductors, tiplers, flat ropes, atmospheric pumping and steam winding engines. The combined effect of these innovations was to facilitate the more efficient movement of coal from the work face to the pit top. A report by John Buddle, senior, in 1787, for example, stated that Curr's system of hurrying with waggons would save £312 10*s* 0*d* per annum on 14,000 waggons (21,000 tons) at the Sheffield Park Colliery (formerly Wood Pits). The capital investment in the existing collieries was not to increase output but to reduce costs and sustain production levels. This was borne out in 1773 at the Sheffield Park Colliery, where potential output was 600 tens (19,800 tons) per annum, whilst between 1781 and 1801 average output still amounted only to 18,227 tons per annum. An increase in total estate production was achieved through opening additional collieries at Attercliffe in 1788, Ponds in 1789 and Crooks Croft in 1804.[11]

The improvement in trade for the Sheffield manufacturing industry in 1786, was sufficient to encourage Norfolk, who now had control of the estate, to open a new colliery at Attercliffe to take advantage of the rise in demand for coal. This was a large undertaking to work 90 acres of coal at a depth of 100 yards and offered an opportunity to install and use the most advanced mining techniques. Between June 1786 and June 1790, expenditure on the colliery rose to £13,822 16*s* 11*d*. Coal production started in 1788 and by 1800/1, output amounted to 44,538 tons out of a total of 84,995 tons for all the collieries. Norfolk was unwilling to bear the full financial cost of sinking the Attercliffe Colliery, and so turned to his land agent and banker Vincent Eyre, with whom he went into partnership in 1789, to share on equal terms the costs and profits of the collieries. Even so, Norfolk was not following the general trend among the landed aristocracy, who were reverting to the role of lessor, in the late eighteenth century. On the contrary, the collieries remained under direct estate management even when lessees would have been available during the period of high profits and sales in the late 1780s. Existing collieries were extended, new mines were sunk at the Ponds and Crooks Croft, the Hesley Colliery, Chapeltown, was taken 'in hand' in March 1790, whilst the two major collieries in competition with Norfolk were acquired; the Darnall Colliery in 1798 for £8,500 and the Dore House Colliery for £5,313 10*s* 0*d* in 1801.[12]

During the last 20 years of the eighteenth century, there developed a greater inter-dependence between the Sheffield collieries and the heavy iron industry, especially as the price of iron declined in real terms. In sinking the Attercliffe Colliery, out of a total expenditure of £13,822 16*s* 11*d*, iron goods accounted for £3,450 15*s* 1½*d*. Between 1792 and 1801, Curr's foundry supplied iron castings to the value of £14,069. In turn the total output from the Sheffield park, Attercliffe and Manor collieries of 84,995 tons in 1800/1, was largely consumed by the Sheffield manufacturers.[13]

Although the collieries initially showed rising profits, the management of the Norfolk

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11. Under the terms of the 9th Duke of Norfolk's settlement 1767, the family titles went to Charles Howard of Greystoke with the Sheffield estate placed under trustees, but the profits were to revert to his son the Earl of Surrey. The latter inherited the titles and the estate on the death of the 10th Duke in 1786. A.C.M. SD228-231, S214, S223 S.C.L.
12. Medlicott, M.Phil. thesis, p.57, Appendix XVII-XIX.
13. *Ibid.*, p.62. See also A.C.M. S201, S202, S205 S.C.L.

collieries was not a financial success, due largely to factors beyond the proprietor's control. After allowing for rent at the Wood Pits and Manor Colliery of £1,000 and £75 respectively in 1788, they returned £1,374 16*s* 4*d* on 'profits and interest on monies expended', compared with £580 5*s* 9½*d* in 1783/4. In 1793, the Attercliffe and Ponds collieries returned profits of £4,600. However, the rise in profits was short-lived, for the Attercliffe Colliery worked at a loss between 1794 and 1799 as did the Sheffield Park and Manor colleries in 1800/1.[14]

What were the factors which led to the decline in profits and the withdrawal of Norfolk from coalmining? The geological difficulties that adversely affected the Sheffield Park Colliery in the 1770s continued to hinder output and raise production costs, whilst the excess small coal also reduced profits. At the Attercliffe Colliery, an inflow of water from a neighbouring colliery threatened to flood the mine, and it necessitated the installation of four large pumping engines at a cost of £3,000 per annum compared with total coal sales of only £9,335 in 1800. In 1801, Curr commented on: 'The high prices of hay and Corn, Workmen's wages in acct. of the high prices of Provisions, Punchwood and leading, Deal Timber, Powder, Ropes, Candles, Iron, Cast Iron & Oyl & have for 2 years past been distressing' . . .[15] The effects of inflation and a fall in output are shown in the average wage costs at the Sheffield Park Colliery which rose from 1*s* 10¾*d* per ton on 22,023 tons in 1790/1, to 3*s* 2*d* per ton on 16,426 tons in 1797/8.[16] The effects of a slump in the coal market in 1794 were further exacerbated by severe competition from the Dore House and Darnall collieries, which prevented an increase in coal prices to match the rise in production costs.

The geological problems, fluctuating profits, financial risks and the death of his partner Vincent Eyre in 1801, appear to have persuaded the 11th Duke to divest his mining interests. The process started in 1804 with the sale of Norfolk's 'interest' in the Hesley Colliery to Richard Swallow, ironmaster, for £2,500, although the sale of the Sheffield collieries was a more difficult task due to the high capital cost of the enterprise. It was probably to attract prospective purchasers that very favourable rental terms were offered and in 1805 the 'interest' in the collieries was sold to a consortium of Sheffield businessmen for £72,500 (the value of the stock and property amounted to £16,515 7*s* 3½*d*), with a low rental of £750 per annum on 18 acres of coal. The consortium was better able to bear the financial risks of management and provide the necessary capital expenditure. Norfolk, like many others in the landed aristocracy, had reverted to the role of lessor.[17]

Between 1781 and 1805, the Sheffield collieries were developed into the most extensive and capital-orientated mining enterprises in South Yorkshire, based on the wealth of Norfolk and Eyre combined with the mining expertise of John Curr. The coal output rose from approximately 19,800 tons in 1773 to 99,840 tons in 1800/1, which in turn helped to sustain the expansion of the Sheffield fine-edged tool trade and heavy iron and steel industry, and provided the foundation from which the collieries were able to exploit the huge demand for coal which occurred in the mid-nineteenth century.

In 1794, Earl Fitzwilliam embarked upon the large-scale exploitation of coal on the Wentworth estate. Construction of the Elsecar New Colliery commenced in April 1794,

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14. A.C.M. S214, S200 S.C.L.
15. It was not until the introduction of the Bessemer steel process that 'small' coal could find a ready market. B. R. Mitchell and P. Deane, *Abstract of British Historical Statistics* (Cambridge, 1962), p.488. A. J. Taylor, 'The Sub-contract System in the British Coal Industry', in L. S. Pressnell (ed.), *Studies in the Industrial Revolution* (London, 1960), pp.227-8. Reports from Committees of the House of Commons, first series, Volume X, 1785-1801, *Reports from Committees on the Coal Trade 1800,* p.566. A.C.M. S214 S.C.L.
16. Medlicott, M.Phil. thesis, Appendix XVII-XIX.
17. A.C.M. SD8, 9a, 9b, 10, S.C.L. G. E. Mingay, *English Landed Society in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1963), p.201.

with the majority of the raw materials coming from the estate. A brick kiln was built to supplement the output of the Lowwood brickworks, stone came from the nearby Simon Wood quarry and timber from local woods. Production was started in September 1795, but unlike the Attercliffe Colliery, the initial outlay was relatively low, with only £2,663 expended between April 1794 and December 1795 with the major expenditure on a Newcomen-type pumping engine. The majority of the high-cost capital equipment was not installed until after the start of coal production, a factor related to the progress of the Dearne and Dove Canal that was completed as far as Elsecar in 1798. There followed a significant level of capital investment on iron rails, corves, steam winding engines and colliers' houses that raised expenditure to £23,400 between January 1796 and December 1806. In 1796, for example, the horse-drawn whim gin was replaced by a steam winding engine, followed in 1798 by the sinking of a bye-pit with another steam winding engine. The Elsecar Old and Lowwood collieries also underwent a programme of expansion and capital investment. As it was not until 1793 that Fitzwilliam embarked on the expansion of his collieries, the technological innovations which had proved successful in other mines, especially in Sheffield, could be introduced. However, in contrast to the Sheffield collieries, the rural location of the Fitzwilliam mines created difficulties in labour recruitment. As early as 27 May 1792, Charles Bowns, land agent and solicitor, commented on the scarcity of colliers at Elsecar and the need to put themselves to 'some inconvenience to produce them . . .'. The opening of the Elsecar New Colliery increased the demand for labour and the necessity to provide accommodation to attract workers. To meet this demand Fitzwilliam built, converted or repaired at least 42 dwellings costing approximately £1,559 between 1797 and 1798.[18]

The success of the Elsecar New Colliery, a revival in the local coal trade after the depression of 1817-1818, and the opening of the Sheffield Canal in 1819, appear to have been key factors in persuading Fitzwilliam to exploit the coal reserves elsewhere on the Wentworth estate, to supply the expanding iron industry in Rotherham and Sheffield. Two small mines were opened at Brampton in 1818 (later re-named Rainber Park Colliery in 1821) and Swallowwood in 1823, but the major investment was in the New Parkgate Colliery, Rawmarsh, near Rotherham, which opened in June 1823. Expenditure on the colliery amounted to £32,000 by 1827, with a further £33,000 spent on the purchase of freeholders' coal to enable output to rise to 41,139 tons in comparison to 38,837 tons at the Elsecar New Colliery.[19]

The inter-dependence between the coal and iron concerns on the Wentworth estate was particularly close, although orders for precision goods often went to outside firms, such as the Low Moor Ironworks, Bradford, Butterley Ironworks, Derbyshire, and the Coalbrookdale Works in Shropshire. The Elsecar New Colliery purchased iron rails valued at £1,364 5*s* 8¼*d* or 9.5 per cent of total costs in 1799-1801. In sinking the New Parkgate Colliery, iron goods amounted to £4,409 14*s* 10*d* or 17.2 per cent of total expenditure between August 1820 and December 1823. Indeed the purchase of iron goods by the Elsecar New, Elsecar Old, Lowwood, Rainber Park, New Parkgate and Swallowwood collieries between 1795 and 1830 amounted to some £42,313. The local ironworks in turn consumed large quantities of coal. In 1810, for example, the Milton Ironworks purchased 13,892 tons of coal or 77.0 per cent of total coal sales of the Elsecar Old Colliery, and the Elsecar Ironworks took 28,356 tons or 58.0 per cent of sales from the Elsecar New Colliery. This over-dependence on sales to the ironworks made the collieries particularly susceptible to a slump in the iron industry. This was apparent in 1812, when coal sales to the Milton Ironworks declined to 11,135 tons and the Elsecar

18. W.W.M. A54–74, St.P.6, S.C.L.
19. Medlicott, M.Phil. thesis, Appendix XVI.

Ironworks to 11,897 tons.[20]

The consolidated landholding of the Sheffield and Wentworth estates reduced the necessity to purchase freeholders' coal, but nevertheless, some coal-bearing land had to be bought or exchanged. In 1819 the Rawmarsh and Haugh estates of W.W. Kent, containing considerable reserves of coal, were purchased for £27,436 9*s* 6*d*, and the numerous landowners in the Greasbrough-Rawmarsh area forced Fitzwilliam to acquire some of their coal to the value of £33,000 for the New Parkgate Colliery. The efficient exploitation of this coal could have been undertaken only if worked by a single concern, and Fitzwilliam was probably the sole local proprietor with sufficient wealth to acquire the reserves. The purchases of land and coal not only added to reserves, but strengthened the local Fitzwilliam coal monopoly and locked up other landowners' minerals.

Although the Fitzwilliam collieries experienced the inflationary trends of the late eighteenth century, they remained profitable concerns by the accounting criteria of the time. For the two five-year periods of 1803-1807 and 1816-1820, the average 'balances' of the Elsecar New Colliery rose from £3,736 to £4, 482, and at the Elsecar Old Colliery from £1,641 to £2,937 per annum. These figures represent the day-to-day expenditure of the collieries minus revenue. However, if the 'Expences' item, which included the capital expenditure and replacement costs, is added, the average 'net profit' for the periods show a rise at Elsecar New Colliery from £1,057 to £2,835 and at the Elsecar Old Colliery from £1,201 to £2,007 per annum.

Certain factors emerge which give some insight into why Fitzwilliam, unlike Norfolk, continued in the role of colliery proprietor. The Wentworth estate collieries were not faced with serious geological and drainage problems, and the Barnsley coal seam lay only 34 yards deep in the Elsecar valley, compared with the 100 yards depth of the Sheffield mines. This resulted in a lower average wage cost per ton and higher profits for the Fitzwilliam collieries. In 1800, for example, average wage costs per ton were: Elsecar New Colliery 15.27*d*, Lockwood Colliery 16.35*d*. and Elsecar Old Colliery 17.91*d*, in contrast to the Sheffield Park Colliery 33.7*d*, Manor Colliery 63.23*d*, and Attercliffe Colliery 56.89*d*. The Fitzwilliam collieries were able to expand their geographical market and even enter the Sheffield market on completion of the Dearne and Dove and Sheffield canals. The high relative cost of Norfolk coal made it difficult to break out of the Sheffield market. In 1827, for example, the New Parkgate Colliery could deliver coal at the Sheffield Canal basin at a lower price than the Sheffield Colliery, and this competition forced a price reduction of 1*s*. 8*d* per ton at the Handsworth Colliery. In 1818, coal sold at the Darnall Colliery was double that at the Lowwood Colliery. This encouraged Fitzwilliam to sink boreholes on his Tinsley estate, and on finding coal and ironstone near the surface, leased the minerals to Messrs. Booth & Co., who opened the Tinsley Ironworks and a large colliery whose surplus output was sold in competition to the Norfolk lessees in the Sheffield market.[21]

The owners of the Sheffield and Wentworth estates sought to enforce a monopoly of their coal markets especially in relation to estate tenants. In a lease granted to Booth & Co. in 1763 to erect an ironworks in Sheffield Park, the lessees were obliged to purchase coal from Norfolk collieries, if it was sufficiently competitive and suitable compared with other proprietors' coal. Even when a new lease in 1784 allowed them to mine coal, they were ordered to close the mine at a loss of £2,067 when their sale of 'small' coal competed with that from the Manor Colliery. Similar practices were employed on the Wentworth estate, for example, when Darwin & Co. took out a lease of the Elsecar Ironworks in 1795, they were obliged to purchase Fitzwilliam coal if there was a colliery

20. *Ibid.*, Appendix VII, VIII. See also W.W.M. F70, F100, S.C.L.
21. *Ibid.*, Appendix XVI-XVIII. See also W.W.M. F107 S.C.L.

within one mile of the works.[22]

In order to encourage the development of their estates, some landowners introduced financial incentives to capitalist entrepreneurs, especially in newly emerging industrial areas such as Elsecar. The proprietors of the Elsecar and Milton ironworks were allowed to purchase coal at staged fixed rates. At the Elsecar Ironworks, this worked out at 6*s* per dozen (42 cwt) for seven years, and 7*s* 6*d* for the remainder of the twenty-one year lease. However, at the end of the lease they had to accept the landowner's terms on any renewal, and Fitzwilliam insisted on the market price of coal even after strong objections from Walker & Co. of the Milton Ironworks. Fitzwilliam was able to use his monopoly position and between 1804 and 1815, the price of coal to the ironworks rose from 7*s* 6*d* to 11*s* 4½*d*, a rise of 65.9 per cent. When, after 1818, Fitzwilliam was forced to introduce discounts on coal from his Rawmarsh-Greasbrough collieries, due to increased local competition, customers of the Elsecar collieries were offered no such privilege.

The relative inelastic supply of the coal industry often resulted in rapid price rises during periods of high demand, especially with monopoly suppliers. In Sheffield, between 1792 and 1793, the shortage of coal was so acute that it prevented the 'regular working of several steel furnaces and manufactories'. This enabled the 'Dross' coal from the Sheffield Park Colliery to be increased from 15*s* to 17*s* 6*d* per waggon (30 cwt), and the 'small' coal from 10*s* to 11*s* 8*d* per waggon in 1792. Some indication of the Norfolk monopoly can be gauged in 1803, when out of 125,000 tons consumed in Sheffield from 16 colleries, the Norfolk pits accounted for 101,400 tons or 81.12 per cent of the total.[23]

The great landowners were often in a position to use their political influence to prevent or modify transport schemes which might prove detrimental to their estate interests. The Don Navigation was terminated some three miles from Sheffield due to objections from the Norfolk estate, and the Sheffield Canal was eventually allowed to be built only after it was agreed it would follow a southerly route favoured by Norfolk. When a turnpike road was built through the Park, the estate's coal was to be exempt from all tolls in the Park, and when attempts were made to remove this privilege in 1799 and 1821, the colliery lessees on appeal to Norfolk, were successful. Norfolk also strongly resisted the proposed Rotherham to Sheffield Railway, opened in 1838, that finally broke his monopoly of the Sheffield coal market. For his part, Fitzwilliam managed, after protracted negotiations, to have the Elsecar branch of the Dearne and Dove Canal extended a further 600 yards to the Elsecar New Colliery.[24]

The high cost of transport before 1798 severely restricted the Fitzwilliam coal market, with the output from the Elsecar and Lowwood collieries being consumed by the local farmers, maltsters, blacksmiths, brickyards, lime kilns and Wentworth Woodhouse. This provided a constant but relatively low demand for coal. The high cost of road transport compared with water can be gauged from the fact that a dozen of coal carried from Lowwood to Swinton, a distance of six miles, cost 5*s* 8*d*, but only 4*s* 6*d* for the next 30 miles to Thorne along the Don Navigation in 1766. Even as late as 1819, a dozen of coke at the Haugh Colliery cost 7*s* 0*d*, but its carriage to Sheffield, some nine miles, added a further 7*s* 0*d*.[25]

It was the opening of the Dearne and Dove Canal that enabled the bulk cheap movement of coal on the Wentworth estate. In 1810, for example, out of 73,384 tons of coal sent down the canal, 26,462 tons came from Elsecar. Coal and coke were delivered as far afield as Sheffield, Hull, Gainsborough and Wisbech. There were limitations,

22. A.C.M. S378, S236, S222 S.C.L. W.W.M. F70 S.C.L.
23. Miscellaneous Documents (subsequently referred to as M.D.) 1746-5 S.C.L.
24. J. T. Ward, "West Riding Landowners and Mining in the Nineteenth Century", *Yorkshire Bulletin of Economic and Social Research*, Volumes 15-16 (1963-64), p.64.
25. W.W.M. F70, F107 S.C.L.

however, on how far coal could be profitably sent by canal, for whilst a waggon of coal cost 12*s* 6*d* at Elsecar in 1823, its carriage to Lincoln raised the price to £1 11*s* 6*d*.[26] Such transport costs frustrated Fitzwilliam's attempts to break into the lucrative London market in 1797 and 1802, as coal from the 'Great Northern Coalfield' could readily undercut his prices.

The limitations of the geographical market for coal encouraged Fitzwilliam to exploit the market for coal bye-products. A precedent had been set by Rockingham, who had conducted experiments in tar distillation in 1762. A tar distillery was erected adjacent to the Elsecar New Colliery, to produce tar, coke, varnish, spirit and lamp black in 1814/15, but after encountering severe technical difficulties and mismanagement, the works were closed by 1818. Experiments were also conducted in 1810 on the relative efficiency of the production of coke in ovens, compared with long open fires, to provide fuel to the local ironworks. In 1826, the Elsecar New Colliery produced 3,055 tons of coke, with shipments being made as far afield as Malton, North Yorkshire, and Wisbech, Cambridgeshire.[27] Regular shipments were made in keels owned by the Fitzwilliam enterprise that could also be used in searching out new markets. Although the Dearne and Dove Canal opened up a wider geographical market, the cost of transport by water limited the bulk of sales to the South Yorkshire ironworks. The opening up of a national market had to wait until the South Yorkshire Railway came into the Wentworth estate in 1850.

To what extent did the landed proprietor adapt the lease, management practices and system of accounting to the economic and financial demands of large-scale mining? The mining lease had to fulfil certain functions; provide an appropriate remuneration to lessor and lessee, prevent the over-exploitation of the coal reserves and the spoliation of the landed estate. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, coal leases were usually based on a fixed rental, with output restricted by a limitation on the number of colliers, and pits to be worked at any one time. This was the type of lease adopted on the Sheffield and Wentworth estates, usually taken over twenty-one years. However, a lease taken out by John Bowden with the Duke of Norfolk in 1737, marks the introduction of a system based more on royalty payments. Output was restricted by the allowance of a maximum 15 'master getters of coal', with their usual assistants, and only two pits could be worked at the same time. Apart from a fixed rent of £400 per annum, Bowden had to pay one-fifth the value of all coal extracted over £2,000 in value. Even so, the lessee had to provide 20 wain loads of coal, without charge, to the Sheffield corn mills, a remnant of previous customary practices.[28]

The fixed rent varied according to the depth and thickness of the coal seam, nearness to market, size of the colliery, availability of cheap transport, and sale price relative to unit cost. In 1756, for example, Bowden paid £21 for each of the 12 colliers employed at the Carr House Colliery, whilst Bingley at the Lowwood Colliery, located at a greater distance from the Don Navigation, paid £17 17*s* 0*d* for each of his seven colliers. Penalties for exceeding the stipulated number of colliers or waggons permissible could be severe, for on renewal of the Basingthorpe Colliery lease in 1799, Messrs. Fenton had to pay £20 per day for any collier employed above the maximum 20, and fined £10 per waggon over the 18,500 waggons (40,768 tons) allowed.[29]

A restriction on the number of colliers, pits and waggon loads extracted, prevented a flexibility of response to market conditions, and the landowner found it difficult to verify the number of waggons worked. It became common practice on the Sheffield and

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26. G. Mee, *Aristocratic Enterprise* (Glasgow, 1975), p.29.
27. 1 ton of coal produced 10 cwt of coke in an oven, but only 8½ cwt in an open fire. W.W.M. F107 S.C.L.
28. M.D. 1387 S.C.L.
29. W.W.M. A228 S.C.L. Newman and Bond Collection 300 S.C.L.

Wentworth estates during the early years of the nineteenth century, to base the fixed rent on acres extracted. The lease stipulated a fixed rent on a specific number of acres whether worked or not, with permission to extract additional acreage. This system made verification of output easier, and any disagreement could be settled by independent arbitration. The lessor was assured of a minimum fixed income with additional revenue if the demand for coal rose, whilst the colliery proprietor could adjust output according to the state of the market.

The coal lease also attempted to protect other estate activities and promote good mining practices. Old pits were to be filled, the ground levelled and turned back to agricultural use, and damages paid to tenants. Even so, the clauses referring to mining practices were often vague, merely stating that the colliery had to be developed in a 'workmanlike manner'. This provided little protection to the land-owner's interests, and was not appropriate to large-scale mining using high cost capital equipment. Such imprecise instructions in a lease granted to Sorby & Co. in 1805, seriously jeopardised the continued viability and revenue of the Sheffield collieries. The proprietors were able to abandon Crooks Croft Colliery, the largest mine, put at risk the working of 18 to 20 acres of coal because of a blocked water-course, and over a period, reduced the capital value of the buildings and equipment from £16,515 7*s* 3½*d* in 1805 to £9,297 8*s* 4½d by 1820. Of buildings valued at £1,548 10*s* 0*d* in 1805, they had destroyed or sold property to the value of £817. Furthermore, the Woodthorpe Colliery was almost worked out and new winnings were needed at the Sheffield and Handsworth collieries, involving an expenditure of £18,000. As a consequence, on renewal of the lease in 1820, more detailed and precise clauses concerned with work practices were inserted. Instructions were given on the maintenance of pits and soughs, and the thickness of coal to be left in the levels and between collieries. No buildings were to be demolished without permission, two years work had to be left in the collieries, except the Handsworth Colliery, and £18,000 had to be spent in colliery development within three years of taking out the lease.[30] The mining lease evolved slowly during the eighteenth century, and at times did not keep pace with the changes in the industry and its effect on the landed estate.

Although the mining industry was among the first to introduce modern management practices in response to the scale of working and the range of skills and expertise employed, the landed proprietor was often slow in the adoption of such practices. In this, Norfolk and Fitwilliam were no exception. There was a shortage of skilled mine engineers and consultants in the South Yorkshire Coalfield in the late eighteenth century, which would account for the employment of personnel from the long-established Northumberland and Durham Coalfield. It was from this area that the Currs, Stobarts, Lockes and Nixon were employed for the Sheffield collieries, and from where the mine consultant John Buddle, senior, was hired to report on the collieries.

On the Wentworth estate, the landed proprietor preferred to employ colliery personnel from existing workers, except John Deakin, who was employed in 1792 to supervise the collieries and the sinking of the Elsecar New Colliery. The estate-controlled collieries were initially small concerns and so mining skills could develop as the collieries expanded. When specific skills and advice were required in areas such as mine drainage, then outside assistance was sought.

It was only through necessity that many landowners employed outside labour, preferring to rely upon the existing workforce. As many landowners had several estates to manage and other social and political activities to pursue, and as the complexity of mining technology increased, they were unable to supervise the day to day work of their collieries, and therefore felt vulnerable to fraud, embezzlement and mismanagement.

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30. A.C.M. SD14 S.C.L.

Once a worker had proved to be reliable, honest and industrious, it was common practice to employ family members as well. This form of nepotism applied to all levels of the labour force, from gin boy to manager, although it had the additional advantage of facilitating the easier transference of skills. On the Wentworth estate, Benjamin Hall, House Steward, was succeeded by his nephew Joshua Biram and by his son Benjamin Biram, and in 1795 the Hague family provided the overlookers at all the Fitzwilliam collieries.

The lack of primary source material prevents an accurate assessment of the degree of control the Sheffield trustees and the Norfolks had over their collieries. What evidence there is, suggests that John Curr had more executive independence to manage the collieries than the Birams on the Wentworth estate. There were checks and balances to Curr's authority. Before mines were sunk and capital invested, independent reports were required and up to 1787 Henry Howard audited Curr's colliery accounts. However, management of the collieries from a distance might have prevented the Norfolks reacting with sufficient speed to changed circumstances. The dismissal of Curr, after the dramatic fall in profitability of the collieries, occurred in 1801 when sales and profits were beginning to improve and between 1805 and 1812 no detailed check was kept on the lessees to prevent them 'taking advantage' of their lease.

Although the landed proprietor was unable to closely supervise the management of his collieries, some like Fitzwilliam, insisted that all executive decisions be referred to themselves. The location of pits, personnel management, decisions on drainage and prices had to be discussed with Fitzwilliam. Many of these decisions could have been better taken by the manager working at the colliery level. Both Norfolk and Fitzwilliam were reluctant to delegate executive authority beyond the land agent and the person in overall charge of the collieries. This enabled the landed proprietor to have more overall influence in his collieries and assist in checking embezzlement. On the other hand, it prevented the development of separate departments and specialist skills in such areas as engineering, sales, marketing and personnel management and training, all of which John Curr and Joshua Biram were expected to manage and have the necessary expertise. The situation was even more burdensome for Joshua Biram, who was expected to supervise the Wentworth estate and its collieries, with duties ranging from pit sinking to sending pineapples to Milton, Northamptonshire. As the collieries became more extensive and technologically more complex, the workload of the House Steward increased, until by 1826, Joshua Biram was responsible for six collieries producing 141,806 tons and by 1828 employed 317 workers. This lack of managerial specialisation almost certainly led to inefficiency as a strict check on expenditure was difficult to achieve. Indeed, the estate auditor D. Maude complained on several occasions after 1830 of the need to have more economies to prevent unnecessary expenditure.[31]

Not only were Curr and Biram overworked, they were also under-paid. In 1801, Curr complained that his salary was not sufficient after the deduction of expenses, which in other collieries were paid for by the proprietor. Neither did his salary, paid at a fixed rate per colliery, rise during his period as 'Superintendent' between 1781 and 1801, even though this was a time of considerable price inflation. In 1831 Benjamin Biram, who was now working under his father as a Steward's Clerk, asked Fitzwilliam for a rise in the salary paid to himself and Joshua. He wrote that Joshua's wages were' . . . inadequate for the confidential situation which he holds, and by no means proportionate to the duties he has to perform'. Joshua received a basic salary of £150 per annum, with gifts that had risen over the years from £100 to £400, but none had been given since 1828. Although Joshua and Benjamin did, as a result of this plea, receive wage increases, it does reflect

31. Mee, *op. cit.*, pp.90-2, 97, 102-4

Fitzwilliam's paternalistic attitude towards his staff and the lack of a salary structure commensurate with responsibility.[32]

Neither Norfolk nor Fitzwilliam really came to terms with the demands placed upon management by large-scale mining. They failed to delegate authority and responsibility or develop the separate skills and expertise associated with the mining industry. This was true of the inability to adopt new accounting practices, apart from the 'double-entry' book keeping common on the landed estate. Such a system applied to the capital intensive mining industry, became increasingly anachronistic in the calculation of profits. Capital depreciation was not incorporated into the accounts, which made it difficult to check and relate investment to its financial return with the ensuing danger of over-capitalisation. The calculation of profits was made more difficult by the lack of a clear differentiation between capital and current expenditure in the accounts. On the other hand, the system did have its advantages, for it enabled the proprietor, at any one time, to know the financial position of the enterprise in relation to the total income and expenditure, and so provide some guard against embezzlement.[33] Norfolk and Fitzwilliam did recognise the limitation of the existing method of accounting, and an attempt was made to produce a separate capital account. This was of particular relevance to the Sheffield collieries, where the Norfolk-Eyre partnership involved the sharing of costs in sinking new pits and mines. The Sheffield account books provide examples of where the capital expenditure on new pits was extracted from the accounts at the year end. Fitzwilliam produced a separate 'Expences' account, which recorded all expenditure apart from wages, arrears and 'incidental' payments. Even so, the 'Expences' account still recorded some current costs such as allowances to widows and colliers, and neither proprietor differentiated between expenditure on maintenance or extension to the workings. Although in the Sheffield collieries capital depreciation was used in the estimate of profit prior to sinking a pit, it was not incorporated into the accounts of the working pits. Fitzwilliam introduced a variant of opportunity cost accounting, with the introduction of a 'Capital expended' entry, with interest of 4-5 per cent charged on expenditure, but there is no evidence to show how this was calculated.

The landed proprietors had different interpretations of profit. In the Sheffield collieries, from the difference between total expenditure and revenue there was deducted what the proprietor would have received if the mines had been leased, with the remainder being looked upon as 'profits and interest on monies expended'. On the Fitzwilliam estate profits for each colliery were calculated without the 'Expences' element. However, Fitzwilliam realised that the 'Expences' element needed to be incorporated into profits, and so from the total of all the colliery 'balances' was substracted the total 'Expences' to produce 'Net profits', which could grossly distort profits under a period of high capital investment. It can be seen that during the period under study, neither landed proprietor satisfactorily adapted his accounting practices to the new demands created by a capital-intensive industry.

The Norfolk and Rockingham-Fitzwilliam families undertook the direct management of their collieries at a most opportune moment in time, as the continued development of their coal reserves required a considerable injection of capital investment. Following the withdrawal of the capitalist entrepreneur, the Norfolk and Fitzwilliam families had to rely upon their landed wealth to bring about the large-scale exploitation of their mineral resources. The ensuing capital investment in colliery development and rapid increase in

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32. W.W.M. G40 S.C.L. As 'Superintendent' of the Sheffield collieries John Curr received: Sheffield Park and Manor colleries £100, Attercliffe Colliery £70, Hesley Colliery £20. A further £25 was received for viewing and measuring the coal and ironstone mines under lease.
33. S. Pollard, *The Genesis of Modern Management: A Study of the Industrial Revolution in Great Britain* (London, 1965), pp.209-210.

coal output provided the means to sustain the expansion of the South Yorkshire iron and steel industry.

The estimated total coal output of the Yorkshire Coalfield amounted to 1,100,000 tons in 1800, of which the collieries under direct Norfolk and Fitzwilliam management contributed 151,805 tons or 13.80 per cent, and 192,574 tons or 17.50 per cent if the output of the Basingthorpe Colliery is taken into account. However, it was not until after 1800 that the Yorkshire Coalfield as a whole began to increase output at a faster rate than the other British coalfields. In South Yorkshire, this was due largely to the expansion of mining on the Norfolk and Fitzwilliam estates. For example, between 1800 and 1826, the output of the Fitzwilliam collieries had increased from 66,810 to 141,806 tons.[34]

The British coal industry as a whole underwent a period of rapid expansion after 1750, due to a large extent to the direct involvement of the great landowner. In the North-east Coalfield, for example, the Earl of Durham received profits of £29,000 in 1820, and extracted some 162,000 chaldrons (429,300 tons) of coal in 1829 from collieries valued at £540,695 in 1835. This compares with 141, 806 tons of coal from the six collieries under Fitzwilliam management in 1826. Between 1812 and 1841, the Earl of Lonsdale received colliery profits of £1,146,313, and in 1833 Lord Londonderry's mines returned an estimated £40,000. Several major transport schemes were carried out to facilitate the bulk movement of coal and so encourage the large-scale exploitation of the landowners' coal reserves. In South Wales the Marquis of Bute invested £350,000 on the West Bute Dock, Cardiff, and Lord Londonderry £162,000 on Seaham Harbour.[35]

The industrial development of the Norfolk and Rockingham-Fitzwilliam estates can be more easily compared with Lord Dudley's estate on the inland West Midland Coalfield. Lord Dudley developed an industrial empire that comprised of mining, quarrying, brick making and iron production. Although only the collieries remained under direct estate management, he provided the means for the industrial development of the estate through enclosures, road and canal schemes, provision of capital, mineral leases and parliamentary influence. By 1833, Dudley held canal shares to the value of £19,920, received rents from 11 iron-works under lease amounting to £3,184 14*s* 8*d* in 1836, and profits from the collieries of £17,684 7*s* 1*d* for the five years preceding 1797.[36]

Although the Norfolk and Fitzwilliam estates had not developed such an extensive industrial empire as that of Lord Dudley before 1830, they did make a considerable contribution to the development of the South Yorkshire Coalfield. They were the forerunners in large-scale mining and innovatory leaders in mining techniques and technology. It was their commitment to the exploitation of their coal reserves and the introduction of high-cost capital investment that furthered the industrialization of South Yorkshire.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express gratitude to His Grace the Duke of Norfolk and the Trustees of the Fitzwilliam Estates in allowing access to the Arundel Castle Manuscripts and the Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments. I am grateful for the assistance given by the staff of the Sheffield City Libraries, Archives Division, and to Dr. C. Holmes, Department of Economic and Social History, The University of Sheffield, who read the typescript and suggested improvements.

34. M. W. Flynn, *The History of the British Coal Industry,* Volume 2 (Oxford, 1984), p.26. Medlicott, M.Phil. thesis, p.89 Appendix XIV, XVII-XIX.
35. J. T. Ward and R. G. Wilson (eds.), *Land and Industry: The Landed Estate and the Industrial Revolution* (Newton Abbot, 1971), pp. 35, 49, 74. Medlicott, M.Phil. thesis, Appendix XIV. J. Davies, *Cardiff and the Marquesses of Bute,* Studies in Welsh History 3 (Cardiff, 1981), p.270. F. M. L. Thompson, *English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1963), p.263.
36. T. J. Reynolds, *The Economic Emergence of the Black Country* (Newton Abbot, 1973), pp.62-3, 150, 194.

PAST BEEKEEPING IN YORKSHIRE: EVIDENCE FROM BEE BOLES AND OTHER LOCAL SOURCES

By PENELOPE WALKER*

Introduction

Before the introduction of modern frame hives, beekeepers in Britain used wicker or straw hives known as skeps. In most places the skeps were kept out in the open, on wooden stands or benches, but in some areas beekeepers needed to give their skeps protection against the wind and rain, and special structures were built for this purpose. Some of those constructed of stone or brick still survive, and Yorkshire is an area with a rich heritage of such archaeological sites from past beekeeping.

Since 1952 the International Bee Research Association has maintained a Register of bee boles, bee houses and other shelters for skeps. Over the years reports were sent in by houseowners and voluntary helpers; F. R. Alston, E. Crane, R. Duruz, A. Gaunt†, F. A. Hyde, K. Mason and R. G. Wilby contributed much to the Yorkshire records. By 1981 more than 800 structures had been recorded throughout Britain and Ireland, and these have been discussed by Dr Eva Crane in her book *The Archaeology of beekeeping* (Crane, 1983). She defines four types of protective structure:

A bee shelter housed one or more rows of skeps. It often backed on to a wall and had solid ends to support the shelves, and a sloping penthouse-type roof. Most shelters were open-fronted, but in a few the front was closed in except for holes through which the bees could fly. Shelters were common in many parts of Europe, and the IBRA Register records over 60 for Britain and Ireland.

A bee house was a more elaborate free-standing structure in which skeps were placed along one or more of the inside walls, usually on shelves. Openings were provided so that the bees could fly out. The beekeeper could move about inside the house to examine his skeps. Bee houses are still used with modern hives in parts of Germany, Austria and Switzerland. In Britain and Ireland about 25 surviving bee houses have been recorded.

Bee boles are recesses built into a wall; most were made to house one skep, although a few were wide enough for two or three. *A set* of bee boles is often a row of four or five, although it sometimes consists of only one. Typical dimensions are a height and width of 18-24in.* and a depth slightly less. Bee boles are almost unique to Britain and Ireland (678 sets in 1981), although 14 sets have been found in France and one in Greece.

An alcove is a larger shelved recess, usually vaulted. There are 20 in the IBRA Register. Special buildings were also constructed for *winter storage* of skeps of bees, often windowless, with internal recesses for the skeps but no flight holes for the bees. In Britain and Ireland 18 winter storage buildings have been recorded.

Examples of structures of each type except bee houses survive in Yorkshire, the most

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† see Gaunt, 1977

* When the IBRA Register was started, metric units were not in common use in Britain, and measurements were recorded in feet and inches.

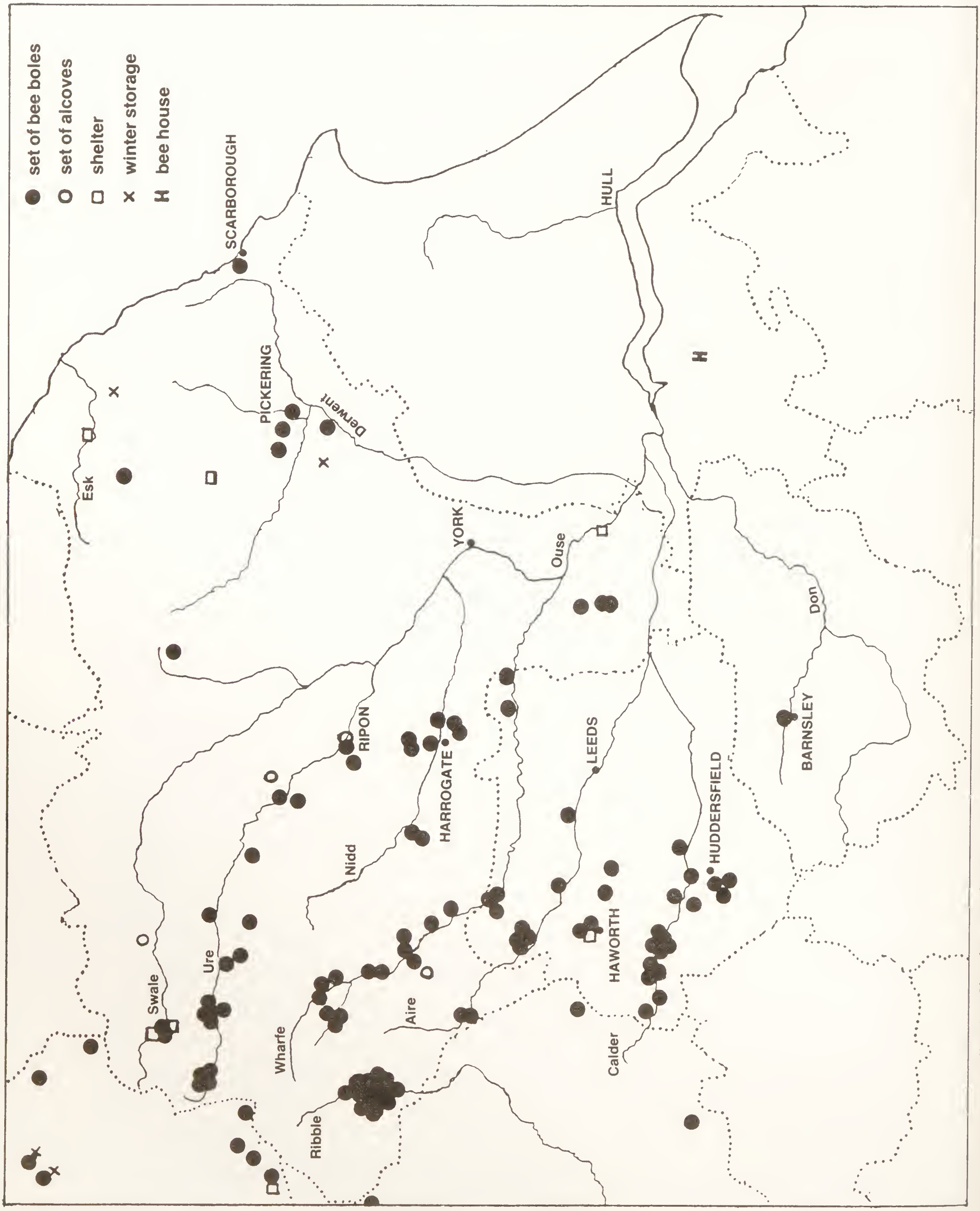


Fig. 1. Sketch map of Yorkshire and some adjoining areas showing the distribution of bee boles and other structures.

numerous being bee boles (102 sets), which are discussed in the next three sections. The analysis for Britain and Ireland, made by Eva Crane and myself in 1981 (Crane, 1983), included — for Yorkshire — a total of 89 sets of bee boles and 12 other structures, and the information then available was summarized in Appendix 1 of her book. Since its publication, additional details have been provided for 22 of the sets, and 13 further structures (all bee boles) in Yorkshire have been added to the IBRA Register. Much of this new information has been collected through the activity of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society (see Howard, 1985) and the Vernacular Architecture Study Group of the Halifax Antiquarian Society (see Heginbottom, 1983).

Distribution of bee boles in Yorkshire

North, West and South Yorkshire together possess 102 sets of bee boles and 12 other structures, which is 12% of the 930 now recorded in the whole of Britain and Ireland. Figure 1 shows their locations, and Table 1 gives the number in each area; the Appendix to this paper lists all of them, with very brief details.

It is clear from Figure 1 that there are marked concentrations of bee boles in certain areas, particularly along the Pennine dales. Another concentration occurs along the eastern edge of the Pennines from Harrogate to Ripon. Crane (1983) suggests that structures for sheltering hives were built in areas where beekeeping could be worthwhile, but only if extra protection from bad weather were provided. The Pennines and the North York Moors are such areas, especially where there is a honey flow from the heather. Some other similar areas in Britain have large agglomerations of bee boles: Devon and Cumbria in England, and Fife and Tayside in Scotland. On the other hand, bee boles are rarely found in parts of Britain where the climate is so inhospitable that the bees would not survive, and there are none on the highest moorland in Yorkshire.

Table 1. Distribution of bee boles and other beekeeping structures in Yorkshire.

	sets of bee boles	*sets of alcoves*	*shelters*	*winter storag*
Swaledale	2	1	2	
Yoredale	16	1		
Nidderdale	2			
Wharfedale	16	1		
Ribblesdale	16			
Airedale	8			
Haworth/Clayton	4		1	
Calderdale	14			
Harrogate/Ripon	10	1		
East of Leeds	3		1	
Huddersfield	3			
Barnsley	1			
Vale of Pickering	5			1
N. York Moors	2		2	1
Total	102	4	6	2

Bee boles are also much less common in parts of Britain with a favourable climate where the hives did not need extra protection. Figure 1 shows that none have been recorded in the Vale of York which is in the rain shadow of the Pennines and is a good agricultural area with many honey sources.

In drawing conclusions from the present distribution of bee boles, it must be

remembered that the records cover only those surviving until at least 1952. Many structures must have been destroyed before then, during urban and industrial development, especially in certain parts of West Yorkshire. In some other areas bee boles have probably disappeared as a result of agricultural changes or road construction. Even in the dales, some have gone: several are known to have been destroyed in Wharfedale before 1954.

Local features of bee boles and evidence of past beekeeping

In this section, bee boles* are discussed dale by dale, in the order used in Table 1 and in the Appendix. Table 1 gives the total numbers, and the Appendix lists individual addresses, from dale head downstream; some of the sets are described below.

Swaledale

In a field on Mukerside, at an altitude of 1250 ft, there are two pairs of bee boles, smaller than most (IBRA Register number *180*). Uncommonly for drystone walls the opening of each recess is arched. A set of 8 large arched recesses — alcoves — at Slack Hills Farm, Hurst (*181*), was built into a hillside, and provided accommodation for up to 20 skeps; it was still in use around 1900, and the recesses are large enough to hold modern hives.

Yoredale

This dale, with adjoining Coverdale, has 16 sets of bee boles and one of alcoves. Eight of the sets face south-east or east, which is fairly unusual in Yorkshire, but the report for Snayse Holme, Hawes (*209*), explains that — here at least — this affords shelter 'from winds across the valley'.

Fig. 2. Three well built bee boles in a stone wall, *c.* 1810, at Ings House, Hawes (Yoredale, *804*). A row of slabs projects above the recesses, and each base also projects from the wall. (A clothes-line prop is lying across the bases.) Photo: R. G. Wilby 1980.

* The 4 Yorkshire sets of recesses classified by Crane (1983) as 'alcoves' are also included here.

Two sets at Hawes and two at Camshouse are quite similar in appearance: the walls are neatly made with rather thin stones, and the base and the roof of each recess project (Figure 2). Both thin and thicker stones were used to build a wall containing 12 bee boles at West Scrafton, Coverdale (*39*). These were in poor condition in 1979, and it was feared that the wall might be demolished.

Lower down Yoredale at Swinton Castle, Masham (*179*), 12 arched bee boles in two tiers (6 + 6) have been filled in, but a set of 6 at Nutwithcote (*7*), which possibly date from 1453, has been restored. The house was once a monastic grange of Fountains Abbey, and may have supplied the abbey with beeswax for candles and also honey.

A tall alcove in a garden at Well near Bedale (*205*) used to have two shelves with space for at least 6 skeps. A study (Bumstead, 1985) of wills and inventories from the Bedale area, including Well (1539-1720), remarks that 'everywhere the pattern was of a few large farms, many smallholdings, and an almost universal spread of households keeping a cow for milk, a pig for bacon, a few hens and perhaps a hive of bees.' Generally, 2, 3 or 4 hives were kept, but Roger Greathead, a glover of Bedale, had 9 hives.

Nidderdale

Both sets contain rather small bee boles. Until at least 1920, bees were kept in the 4 boles at Dacre (*121*) which are now filled in. Three bee boles at Darley (*117*) are only 10-12 in. deep, because — although built of stone — the wall is only 17 in. thick.

Wharfedale

I have included in this group of 17 sets three at Arncliffe in adjoining Littondale; Figure 3 shows the pair at Bridge End (*56*) where Charles Kingsley wrote much of *The Water Babies*. In 1954 it was reported from Starbotton that other bee boles in the district had been destroyed. There are still several sets around Grassington, including two at Conistone which are well made arched recesses, rounded at the back: the 5 at Leyland House (*469*) were built between 1550 and 1650, and the 7 (2 now gone) at Closed Garth (*178*) look similar and were probably contemporary. The unusual triangular recesses at

Fig. 3 At Bridge End, Arncliffe (Wharfedale, *56*), two typical bee boles in a south-facing wall. Photo: E. Crane 1953.

Lythe House in Grassington (*644*) are likely to have been for bees as a skep was found in the house; they are dated to 1750-1800.

Examples of alcoves were found above Wharfedale at Cracoe (*54*); a local man remembered skeps in them about 1913 when the wall enclosed a 'fine walled garden'. The name 'bogey holes' was used for two recesses at Low Hall, Appletreewick (*473*), and their use for skeps has been queried, although the size is suitable. The more common name 'bee holes' is used locally for three sets near Ilkley (*30, 31, 32*).

The recesses at Reynard Ing (*30*) are in the garden wall of a farmhouse on a gentle north-facing slope 100 ft above the Wharfe. The house was built around 1650, and probably also the wall with the bee boles (Figure 4); bees were last kept in them in 1880. A short history of the farm was written by the owner (Mason, 1970) who says that at least until the seventeenth century this area was remote and thinly populated. The property deeds of 1630 show that the land was then already enclosed.

Ribblesdale

The Ribble is the only river in Yorkshire which flows to the west coast. All the 16 sets of bee boles recorded are within a few miles of Giggleswick, and this remarkably high concentration is not matched anywhere in neighbouring Lancashire. Many of the Ribblesdale sets face south. The bee boles at Taitlands, Stainforth (*64*), are the only set in this dale facing due east; they are built in various sizes and at different levels in the wall, with some in two tiers. Fourteen recesses were recorded in 1953, but there may once have been more. A skep was found at this site.

There are 3 sets in or near Feizor, 3 near Lawkland, and 7 other sets around Giggleswick. At Eldroth Old Hall an orchard wall contains 2 bee boles (*62*), and a field wall had another 8 (*63*), of which only 3 remain. Tems House (*60*), which belonged to a monastery, has boles facing, unusually, north and east. The bee boles at Stockdale House, Feizor (77), may have been connected with Sawley Abbey, Clitheroe.

Fig. 4. Four bee boles in the garden wall of the farmhouse Reynard Ing, near Ilkley (Wharfedale, *30*), with modern hives in the foreground. Photo: E. Crane 1952.

Three recesses in the outside of a cattle fold at Higher Wham Farm, Giggleswick Common (*99*) were probably used only when the heather was flowering.

Airedale

Eight bee boles in garden walls at Holme House, Gargrave (*455*), are in two groups of 3 facing south, with another 2 facing east; an old photograph of one group is reproduced in Figure 5. Near Silsden there are 4 well documented sets, 3 of which are on farms, and another farm site at Horsforth (*65*) once had 8 bee boles, unfortunately now destroyed.

Haworth/Clayton area

Each of the 4 sets here has features of interest. Two remarkably similar structures are recorded in fields near Stanbury. In one (*708*), 6 stone bee boles are built into a steep hillside; they were called 'bee hives', but by 1982 had not been used for over 50 years. At Ponden Hall (*456*) the boles are in another specially built stone structure in a depression in the hillside, with 4 facing south and 4 west.

Four attractive bee boles at Thornton Hall (*154*), probably made *c.* 1640, are the only ones in Yorkshire with a triangular arch, and the slabs forming the edges of the recesses project 3 in. in front of the wall. Bee boles of a very similar style are found in the far north of Scotland near Reay (*462*). The 6 stone recesses at Highgate House Farm, Clayton Heights (*358*) are also unique in Yorkshire in being arched with the arch springing from the base; each recess is 38 in. wide, so it might have held 2 skeps.

Calderdale

The 14 sets of bee boles in this dale constitute one of the best documented groups in

Fig. 5. Three of the eight bee boles at Holme House, Gargrave (Airedale, *455*). The skep has an earthenware bowl on top as a honey 'super', i.e. extra space in which the bees could store honey. The use of earthenware for this purpose is rather unusual. A beekeeper's hat and veil has been left in the recess on the right. Photo: G. A. Sibcy (date not known).

Yorkshire, indeed in the country, due to the work of some members of the Halifax Antiquarian Society. Information on all the sets (except the 3 found since 1983) has been published by Heginbottom (1983), so I shall confine my comments to some particularly interesting features.

Almost all the sets face south or — more than is usual for Yorkshire — south-west; only one faces east. The mean number of 5.7 bee boles at a site is well above the Yorkshire mean of 5.2; the mean number of skeps accommodated in recesses at a site would have been 6.3 (5.7 for Yorkshire). Figure 6 shows the largest surviving set in Yorkshire.

At several places in Tayside, Scotland, bars and/or doors were fixed across the openings of bee boles. Until recently there were only two records of similar doors on bee boles in England (in Cornwall and in West Midlands). It was therefore exciting to receive the recent reports for 5 sets in Calderdale that provide evidence suggesting that bars or doors were fitted. Such fittings may have been to ensure security from theft, but another suggestion is made on page 130.

A unique feature of one set (*149*) is that the width of the opening is reduced from 23.5 in. to 15 in. by upright flagstones fixed at the front, at right angles to the dividing partitions.

A 'bee hive enclosure' is mentioned on page 133.

Harrogate/Ripon area

Up in the Pennine dales, people tended to move along each dale, and there was rather little contact between dales. However, on the lower land to the east of the hills, movement in all directions would have been possible. The sites around Harrogate are therefore considered as a group, although some are near the rivers that have run down the dales.

Brick walls with bee boles are uncommon in Yorkshire; the set at 6 Park Street, Ripon

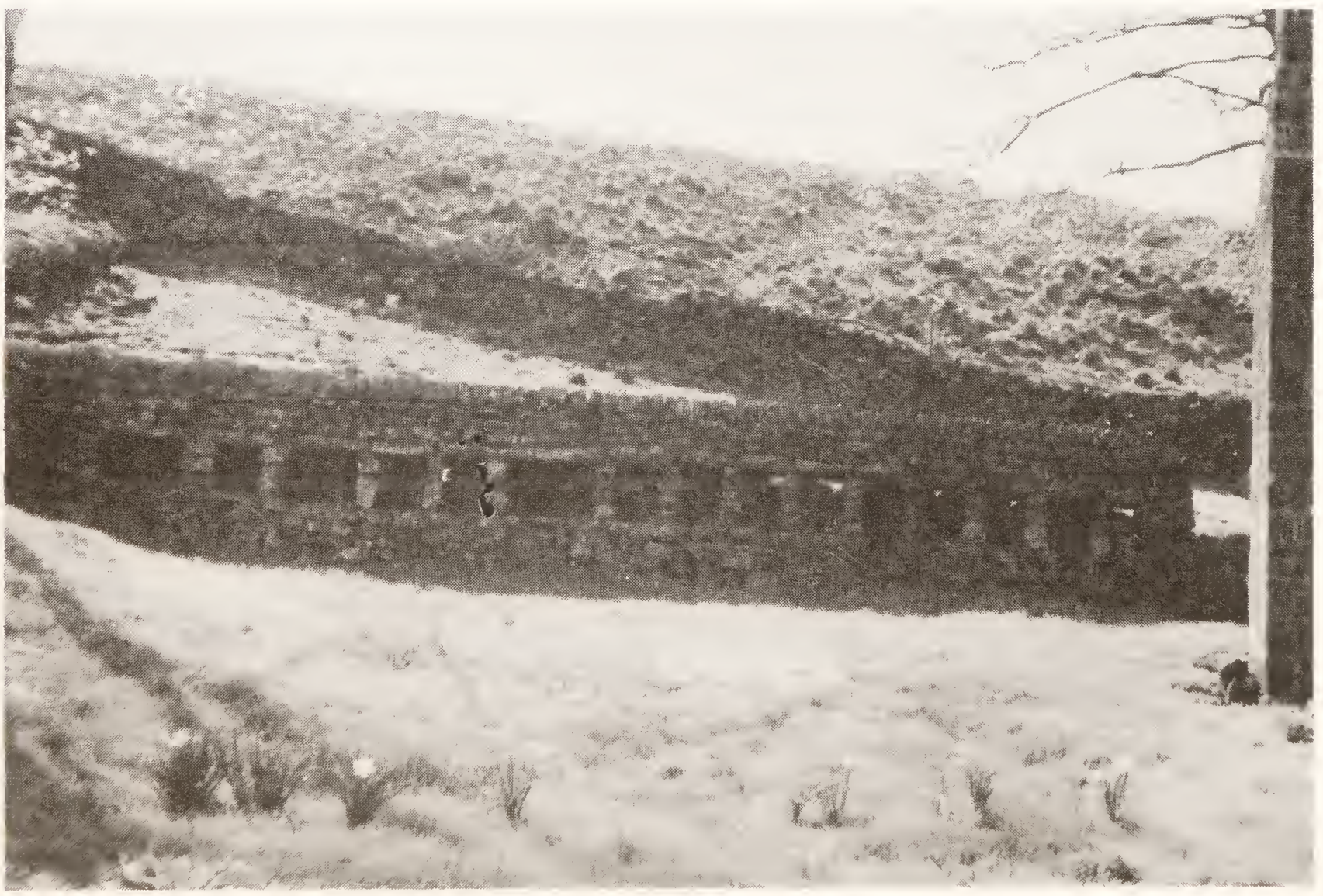


Fig. 6 The impressive set of 16 bee boles at Higher House, Cragg Vale, Mytholmroyd (Calderdale, *221*), which would accommodate 19 skeps. Photo: R. Cross 1955.

(*639*), exemplifies the small size of boles in brick walls (see page 00); each is 10 x 10 x 10 in. Two early boles — dated *c.* 1479 — at Bilton Hall, Harrogate (*116*), also in a brick wall, are 15 in. deep. At the other extreme is the stone alcove at Hutton Mount (*6*), called a 'bee farm', with recesses 36 in. deep accommodated by a roofed extension at the back of the wall.

Of the two sets in Burton Leonard, one is at Burton Hall (*240*), in what has been referred to as a 'nunnery garden'; the wall containing 8 boles in two tiers is subject to a preservation order. In May 1986 I found these in very good condition.

Two Follifoot sets provide an interesting contrast. At Parkside House (*27*) 8 rather basic bee boles with projecting stone bases occupy most of a drystone orchard wall built about 1600. This enclosure was called a 'bee garth', a name found elsewhere in Yorkshire and also in other parts of Britain. Nearby, at Ruddings (*29*), in a stone wall with brick facing, there are 4 carefully built arches with rectangular recesses inside.

East of Leeds

All three sets of bee boles in this area are within a few miles of each other. At South Milford there are two sets of 13 and 10 recesses, and at Barkston Ash there is a set of 16.

Huddersfield

The 3 sets here show nothing unusual except that the 4 recesses at Wilshaw Vicarage (*552*) face north.

Barnsley

The single set of bee boles in this area, recorded at Skyers House, Hemmingfield, (*499*), is interesting because it was the largest in Britain and Ireland, and because of a record from 1297 when Margaret Skyers left 4 lb of wax to be burnt at her burial. It is thus likely that the family kept bees at that time. Probably in the early 17th century, stone walls 10 ft high, faced with brick, were built around the orchard at Skyers House, with 36 (or more) recesses in them. A flight hole was cut from each stone recess to the opposite side of the wall, through the brick facing, with at least 30 holes to the south and 6 to the east, so that the bees flew out into the orchard. The skeps would have been inserted through the large north- and west-facing openings which were probably covered. These recesses were thus different from most bee boles which typically faced the sun and from which the bees flew from the large front opening. Adjoining one of the walls round Skyers' orchard there was a small stone building called a beekeeper's hut.

In 1976 the walls were in a very poor condition, and although repair work was started, they collapsed in 1978. It is sad that such an outstanding and historically interesting structure has disappeared, and also that there is no written or pictorial record of it before it fell into disrepair.

A brief glimpse of seventeenth-century beekeeping comes also from Sprotborough near Doncaster, a few miles away. Between 1644 and 1647 Samuel Bower, the incumbent, noted in his memoranda book (Postles, 1984) the dates when his bees swarmed or died, and he refers to his 'wives beestands'. This beekeeper owned Charles Butler's book on beekeeping (1609), and books by Lawson (1618) and Gervase Markham (1614) with beekeeping sections.

Vale of Pickering

The flat vale was often waterlogged, and the villages and towns grew up along the higher edges of the vale, with their strip parishes reaching up the hill slopes. Here, a few sets of bee boles have been recorded: 3 near Pickering, and one near Old Malton. Two of the

Pickering sets (*757* and *758*) are similar, with dressed stone arches; at Howe House, Old Malton (*657*), the 6 bee boles are made with brick arches in the outside of the stone walls of a cartshed. The set of 6 at Cropton Lane, Pickering (*762*) was in use until 1939.

In Britain and northern Europe in the Middle Ages, honey was often harvested from wild honeybee colonies nesting in holes in trees. In the Forest of Pickering, as in some other forests, the bees, wax and honey belonged to the owner of the wood. Fraser (1958) quotes a case tried in 1335 before the Justices in Eyre at Pickering, in which Gilbert Ayton was charged with taking a gallon of honey and 2 lb of wax from an old tree trunk. Gilbert claimed that, by the Great Charter of the Forest, every freeman might have the honey found in his own woods. The indictment itself stated that he had found the honey in his own woods of Bushell and Troutsdale, and he won the case.

Marshall wrote in *The rural economy of Yorkshire* (1788): 'This may be called a Bee-country; — especially the Morelands and the northern margin of the Vale; where great numbers of bees have been usually kept; and great quantities of honey collected; chiefly from the flowers of the heath; . . .' He added that, in spring, bees in hives between the heaths and the cultivated area could forage on the meadows, pasturelands, trees and cultivated crops; in late summer, they foraged on heather. Marshall continued: 'In the winter of 1782-3, a general mortality took place among the bees of this country. Many beekeepers lost their whole stock. I remember to have seen in the spring of 1783, twelve to fifteen empty stones in one garden.' These would probably have been 'bee stones' of the type described on page 132. He deduced that the colonies died through a lack of 'bee bread' (pollen) in the summer of 1782.

North York Moors

On the western edge of the Cleveland hills at Osmotherley (*756*) there is a set of 6 bee boles, sturdily built more than 200 years ago, though the large vertical dividing slabs are now badly weathered. The only other set known in this extensive area are the 6 recesses at Dale Head Farm (*83*), each with a shouldered arch made from a single stone, and rounded inside at the back. They are in a specially made structure with the date 1832 carved on it, and referred to locally as 'the bee house'. It was probably roofed with slate which is surprising as this is not a local material. In the early 1950s skeps were still kept in these recesses, but by 1979 the roof had gone. When I visited Dale Head recently I was pleased to see that the structure had been authentically restored in 1983 with assistance from the North York Moors National Park Committee.

In 1891 the Reverend J. C. Atkinson wrote about bee customs in the locality (Danby parish), including 'telling the bees' of the death of their master, a custom common in many parts of northern Europe. In Danby Dale black material was tied round each hive, which was then tapped three times with the key of the main house door before the bees were told 'So-and-so is dead, and So-and-so is the new master. He has sent you a bite and a sup of whatever there is on the tables, and hopes you won't be offended'. The bees were actually offered food and liquor.

A book on life in the moorlands (Hartley & Ingleby, 1972) describes many of the local beekeeping traditions, including that of taking the honey. Around 1920 'bee-takings' were still 'as important as clipping or pig-killing days. At the backend when the honey flow had finished the neighbouring beekeepers gathered at the farm on an agreed evening. After the smothering, everyone helped to extract honey by lamplight in the back kitchen where a fire had been lit.' Usually a beekeeper smothered and thus killed the lightest and heaviest colonies. Sulphur 'darts' were burned in a deep pit in the ground, and each skep in turn was covered with a bag and held over the fumes. Crane (1953) noted that sulphur was still used to kill bees in skeps in the early 1950s.

Many skeps of bees were brought to the North York Moors for the heather flow in late summer (see page 128).

Yorkshire Wolds

Although the Wolds have been described (Marshall, 1788) as 'cold with north and east winds pouring in upon them from the sea, and across the Vale from the Moreland Mountains', we have no records of protective beekeeping structures in this area.

Before the widespread use of weedkillers, it was worth transporting hives to the Wolds at certain times of year. For example, a beekeeper in Pickering used to take 80 hives every year for the white clover and 'brassock' (charlock), then common in cornfields (Hartley & Ingleby, 1972). Furze and heath grew in the north-east part. Henry Best, who lived at Elmswell near Driffield, included descriptions of beekeeping in his farming and account books for 1641.

Humberside

No bee boles or other structures for bees have been recorded for Humberside north of the river, and the only record south of it is a bee house at Appleby near Scunthorpe.

Little is known about past beekeeping in this area, but in a 'History of South Cave' near Hull, the tithes listed in September 1716 included 'every bee-skep threepence, or honey in kind, as tithe to the Vicar of South Cave'. For a cow the tithe was three halfpence or one penny according to whether it calved or not, and for a hen two to four pence. At North Cave the tithe on every skep of bees was two pence per annum (British Bee Journal, 1933).

General characteristics of Yorkshire bee boles

Thirty-five of the 102 sets of bee boles now known in Yorkshire have been newly, or more completely, recorded during the last 5 years. Many fresh data can therefore be incorporated in the present paper, which provides the first analysis of features of bee boles in an English region. Characteristics of the Yorkshire bee boles are discussed here as a group, and are compared with results for all bee boles known in Britain and Ireland in 1981 (Crane, 1983).

Situation of the wall

The situation is recorded for almost all sets of Yorkshire bee boles, 64% of which are in garden walls — a figure similar to that for Britain and Ireland as a whole. The wall of a house or other building was less often used for bee boles in Yorkshire (5%) than overall (14%), but the wall of a field or other enclosure (13%) or of an orchard (7.5%) was rather more common than elsewhere (5% and 5%, respectively). The other walls round the enclosure would provide extra protection.

The direction bee boles face usually determines the amount of sunshine the skeps get, and also the winds from which they are sheltered. In Yorkshire, 60% of bee boles are south-facing, but over the country as a whole only 49%. In Yorkshire, the percentages facing south-east (16.5%), east (11.5%), north-east (2%) or north (2%) are comparable with those elsewhere, but fewer Yorkshire bee boles face west (4%) or south-west (3%) than in the overall analysis (6.9% and 9.3%, respectively). More importance might be attached to a southerly aspect in Yorkshire than farther south where winters are less hard.

Walling material, and size and shape of bee boles

Local materials were normally used for buildings and walls, and in Yorkshire most walls are built of stone. Altogether, 88 sets of bee boles are known to be in drystone or

mortared stone walls, and only 3 to be in brick walls. (In contrast, over half of the many sets in Kent are in brick walls.) A few stone bee boles are lined with brick, or are separated by brick piers.

The stones used for walls with bee boles are generally quite big, though in upper Yoredale long flat stones are characteristic. With large stones, especially in drystone walling, it is easiest to make the opening of a recess rectangular, and this is the shape recorded for 73 of the 88 sets in stone walls. A further 14 sets have arched tops, which in 7 sets are made with dressed stones. In one set in Wharfedale (*644*), the openings are triangular.

The inner surfaces of most bee boles are flat, but in some the back of the recess is curved to accommodate the round shape of the skep. If the opening is arched, the top of the recess may also be curved inside. The base of the bole is sometimes one large slab, which commonly projects a few inches in front of the wall. Also, in some walls additional protection from rain is provided by a stone projecting above the opening.

Brick walls are less thick than stone walls, and allow only shallow recesses; the 3 sets in brick walls in Yorkshire are, as expected, rather small. In stone walls the recess can be deeper, but considerable variations in all dimensions are found. In comparing the size of bee boles, the measurement used is the base area (breadth of recess x depth). The following mean areas (sq. in.) were calculated in the 1981 analysis (Crane, 1983):

brick (England + Wales)	165
stone (Yorkshire + Northumbria)	393
stone (Scotland)	393
stone (England minus north, + Wales)	312
stone (England + Wales + Scotland)	369

Using all the relevant measurements now known for Yorkshire bee boles (alcoves not included), the mean base area in stone walls is 415 sq. in., which is much larger than in other parts of the country. Values for the different areas of Yorkshire range from 353 sq. in. in Airedale to 479 sq. in. in Wharfedale.

It is possible that larger bee boles were built to accommodate larger skeps, but no evidence is known to support this. On the other hand there is good evidence that in some places in Scotland bee boles were made large enough to allow insulation such as bracken to be packed round the skep for the winter. Many Yorkshire bee boles are also sufficiently large for this, but until recently there was no suggestion that winter packing was use here. Careful recording in Calderdale (see page 126) now reveals that at least 5 sets of bee boles there had provision for bars and/or doors to be fitted across the front. Although these may have been solely for security, they could well have served to keep in place bracken or heather packing in the winter.

Numbers of bee boles

A few sets in Yorkshire have only one bee bole, but many have 3, 4 or 5, and larger numbers are fairly common; the set of 36 at Skyers House near Barnsley (*499*) was exceptional. The mean number of bee boles per site for Yorkshire is 5.2, the same as that for the whole of England but slighty above the mean of 4.7 for Britain and Ireland. Taking into account the bee boles in Yorkshire large enough to hold more than one skep, I estimate that the mean number of skeps kept in bee boles by one household was 5.75.

It is quite impressive that in Yorkshire we know of 520 individual bee boles that together would have housed at least 575 skeps in past centuries.

Other information

The date of construction (see Appendix) is recorded for only half the sets, and is usually approximate. Two sets were probably built before 1500: at Nutwithcote in Yoredale (*7*),

possibly as early as 1453, and at Bilton Hall, Harrogate (*116*), *c.* 1479. Twelve sets are from the seventeenth century and 21 from the eighteenth; 13 are dated 1800-1850 and only 2 are known to have been built later. The rise and fall in the numbers of bee boles still existing from different centuries, with a peak in the eighteenth century, are similar in the rest of the country.

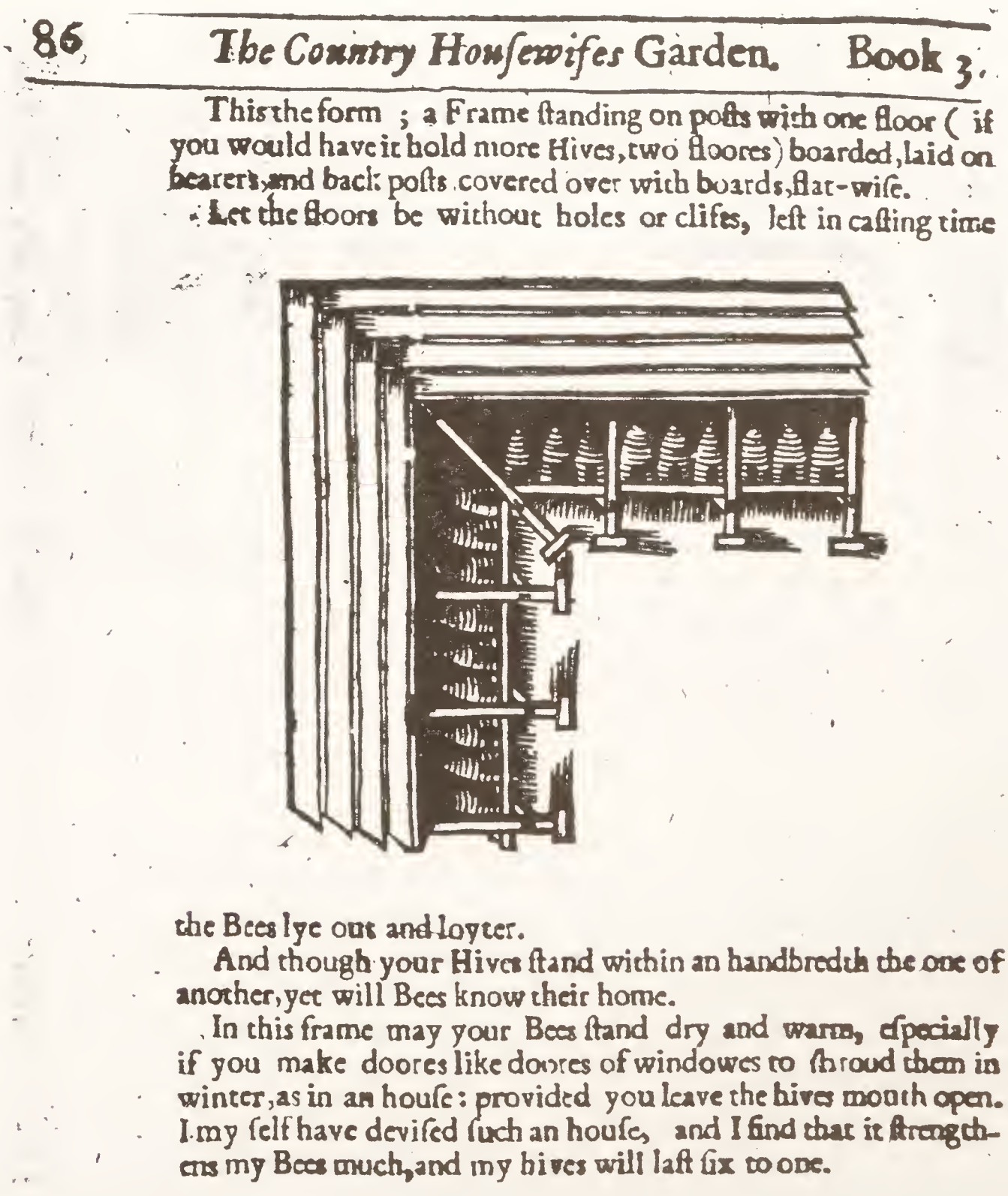
In view of the many dialect words peculiar to Yorkshire, it is surprising not to find a name for bee boles. Some of the names used occasionally in various parts of Yorkshire are mentioned earlier, and another (for the wall itself) is 'bee- or by-wall'.

Other beekeeping structures and sites

Three types of structures besides bee boles are described in the introduction (page 119), the few Yorkshire records are included in the Appendix, and some are mentioned here.

Shelters

William Lawson, a gardener and writer who lived on the east coast of Yorkshire, described a shelter (Figure 7): 'A Frame standing on posts with one floor (if you would have it hold more Hives, two floores) boarded . . . In this frame may your Bees be dry



86 *The Country Housewifes* Garden. Book 3.

This the form ; a Frame ſtanding on poſts with one floor (if you would have it hold more Hives, two floores) boarded, laid on bearers, and back poſts covered over with boards, flat-wiſe.

Let the floors be without holes or cliſes, leſt in caſting time

the Bees lye out and loyter.

And though your Hives ſtand within an handbredth the one of another, yet will Bees know their home.

In this frame may your Bees ſtand dry and warm, eſpecially if you make doores like doores of windowes to ſhroud them in winter, as in an houſe: provided you leave the hives mouth open. I my ſelf have deviſed ſuch an houſe, and I find that it ſtrengthens my Bees much, and my hives will laſt ſix to one.

Fig. 7. Earliest known representation of an English shelter for skeps, published by Lawson in 1618.

and warm, especially if you make doores like doores of windows to shroud them in winter, as in an house; provided you leave the hives mouth open.'

Most bee shelters were probably made of wood, as Lawson's was, but wood rots fairly quickly, and only shelters built of stone or brick are likely to have survived long in recognizable form. Six have been recorded in Yorkshire. Two of stone are at Muker in Swaledale, and one (*182a*) was in use about 1900. East of Leeds, at Barlow Hall near Selby (*53*), a brick shelter was used for skeps until at least the 1880s; it is nearly 15 ft long, with a decorative wooden pelmet. Two shelters were recorded on or near the North York Moors. One, at Great Fryup (*197*), is partly recessed into a farmyard wall; it had no shelf and the skeps were placed on stands below the tiled roof. There was once a similar shelter at Honey Bee Nest in Danby Dale (Crane, 1953). A shelter 16-17 ft long was built against a field wall at High Farndale (*128*), with three stone posts at the front to support cross-poles for the tiled roof. Photographs taken in 1937 and in 1953 show skeps on flat slabs on the shelf, 15 in. from the ground.

Bee houses

No bee houses are known in Yorkshire — or indeed anywhere in England farther north than Scunthorpe, although 3 have been recorded in Scotland, near Glasgow.

Winter storage

At Stonegrave near Helmsley (*651*) a small building internally 8 ft 3 in. x 7 ft 3 in., attached to the garden wall, has recesses on three inside walls, each with a wooden base. It is known that the building was used for bees, but it would have been during the winter only, when the bees were not flying, because there are no flight holes to the outside. The building is dated to 1650-1700. Another possible winter storage building was reported in the hollow of a hill at Goathland (*82*); in 1953 the walls had collapsed and no evidence of recesses could be seen. However, there may have been wooden shelves, or perhaps some stone stands found nearby were used inside the building in winter.

Bee stones and stands

In bee boles the skep was probably usually placed on a separate base of wood or stone, and many flat circular stones have been found, shaped with a projecting lip which served as an alighting area for the bees. We know that similar stones were also used as skep bases on the ground, and Marshall (1788) referred to such stones. They were sometimes called 'bee stones' or, if they were thin, 'bee flags' (Crane, 1953). Stone 'stands' were made by supporting a stone on one or more stone 'posts', or on wooden posts. We have this description from September 1871 of a bee garth on the moor edge in Eskdale near Whitby (Betts, 1953): '. . . it contained some 40 straw skeps each elevated on 3 stout wood props. On the top of each rested a large rounded flat stone some 2 in. thick, forming the floor for each skep. And they were plastered all round at the base to the stone, with a mixture of cow dung and mortar, making them water and mouse proof. All these skeps were home made during the winter evenings from Rye or Buck Wheat straw, which had been thrashed with a 'Flail' and bound with Briar bark from the wild rose.'

There has been no systematic recording of such bee stones and stands, but some examples have been noted on the North York Moors, and also in the Cotswolds and other stone districts. In the 1950s New Wath Apiaries, Goathland, had 16 stone stands, about 18 in. high. In 1953 several skeps were in use on bee stones at Bee Stone Farm in Farndale (Crane, 1953), and at Lund, Riccaldale, there were 7 stones on the ground on the south side of a garden wall and many more — probably over 200 — on heather-covered hillsides nearby.

There must have been many other bee stones on these moors, used for the annual migration of hives for the heather flow in August. The skeps were placed where there was some shelter, for instance from a wall or a small enclosure. Heginbottom (1983) records a 'bee hive enclosure', 120 ft x 40 ft, at Luddenden Dean, Calderdale, where bee keepers took their bees for the heather flow; it was surrounded by a drystone fence built probably between 1790 and 1850.

Some beekeepers took their skeps long distances to the heather; for example, each night for nearly a week one Pickering family transported 2 loads of 12 skeps by horses and rulleys (wagons) to Staindale and to Whinney Nab near Saltersgate. There were hundreds of hives on stones at Saltersgate, and others on Rudland Rigg, and on Goathland, Egton and Wheeldale Moors and elsewhere (Hartley & Ingleby, 1972). In 1856 a horse rider was badly stung by bees from one of the 300 hives in a small enclosure at Saltersgate.

Request for new records

Most of the bee boles included in this paper are now well documented, but there are likely to be others not yet reported. I should welcome information on any of the types of structure described here, to add to the Register. A bee bole often faces south and is typically 18-24 in. high and wide, and 15-20 in. deep; the base is generally 18-36 in. from the ground, and only occasionally at ground level.

We have, however, encountered a number of recesses with a superficial resemblance to bee boles, but built for other purposes. Two examples are given here. Recesses at East Riddlesden Hall near Keighley look like a fine set of bee boles from a distance, but closer inspection reveals that they are L-shaped inside, and that wooden perches remain in 2. These recesses were for birds — probably falcons. At Ramsgill in Nidderdale, 4 arched recesses were reported as possible bee boles, but they were in fact for feeding pigs. I saw recesses for the same purpose at four farms in Westerdale on the North York Moors; the openings are rectangular and of a size similar to bee boles. The stone back of a recess slopes forward towards the bottom where a gap leads to a trough below. I noticed similar recesses above pig troughs near Mansfield in Derbyshire, and some (arched) near Bruges in Belgium.

Acknowledgements

I have already mentioned those who contributed substantially to the Yorkshire records in the IBRA Register, from which much of the information in this paper has been extracted. I appreciate the use of publications from the North York Moors National Park Officer, and from IBRA Library, University of Reading Library and North Yorkshire County Library. I have been able to consult Dr Eva Crane during the preparation of this paper, and I very much appreciate her advice and interest.

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Appendix: Beekeeping structures recorded in Yorkshire

This list includes all Yorkshire bee boles, alcoves, shelters and winter storage structures on the International Bee Research Association Register, at May 1986. The sites are grouped according to areas used in the text and in Table 1. For most areas they are arranged from dale head downstream, and for others, north to south, or west to east.

The following brief details are given:
Column 1: IBRA Register Number (*Reg.*)
Column 2: Address (as originally reported, though a few have been updated).
Column 3: Number of bee boles or other structures (*No.*).
Column 4: Direction faced (*Dir.*)
Column 5: Other information, as available: date of construction (in brackets if the date of the house only is known); location of wall (if *not* stated, it was a garden wall); other details.
A question mark indicates uncertainty.

All the structures are on private property, and it must not be assumed that visitors will be welcome. At two sites, the owners did not allow recorders access; these are marked DO NOT VISIT.

1 *Reg.*	2 *Address*	3 *No.*	4 *Dir.*	5 *Other information*
Swaledale				
180	on Mukerside, Muker (above Appletreethwaite Farm)	2	S	*c.* 1830; in field wall
		2	W	*c.* 1830; in field wall
182a	West Ings, Muker	1	SSE	? 1850-1900; *shelter*
182b	West Ings, Muker	?	?	filled in
831	Muker	1		*shelter*
181	Slack Hills Farm, Hurst	8	S	*alcoves* in field wall
Yoredale				
209	Snayse Holme, Hawes	3	E	
804	Ings House, Hawes	3	E	*c.* 1810
809	Binks Cottage, Penn Lane, Hawes	4	SE	(house ?1680)
2	Shaw Paddock, Hawes	2	SW	? 1700s
498a	Countersett Hall, Askrigg	5	SE	in outhouse wall; some filled in
498b	Countersett Hall, Askrigg	2	E	(house 1650)
176	East Camshouse, Askrigg	4	S	in garth wall
477	Lower Camshouse, Askrigg	3		in garth wall (was part of 176)
3	nr. Camshouse, Askrigg	3	S	1700-50
35	Spen House, Askrigg	5	S	1841
4	Warnford House, Thoralby	8	S	1700-50
1	Edgley, West Burton, nr. Aysgarth	3	SE	? 1600s.
740	derelict house, Preston-under-Scar, Leyburn	6	S	
39	West Scrafton, Coverdale	12	S	pre-1880; now on rough ground
340	East Witton, Masham	1	E	in garth wall
7	Nutwithcote Farm, Masham	6	S	? 1453 or later; in orchard wall
179	Swinton Castle, Masham	12	S	? *c.* 1750; filled in
205	Holly Hill, Well, Bedale	1	E	*alcove*

Nidderdale

121	Cottage, Dacre, Harrogate	4	SE	filled in
117	Field House, Darley	3	SE	1820

Wharfedale

145	Sweet Briar Cottage, Starbotton, Skipton	2	S	(house 1733)
146	Bridge House, Starbotton, Skipton	2	NE	(house 1838)
861	wall by road leading to Cam Beck, Kettlewell, nr. Skipton	?1		in wall by road
56	Bridge End, Arncliffe, nr. Skipton	2	S	
57	The Falcon Inn, Arncliffe, nr. Skipton	3	S	
61	Lane Top, Arncliffe, nr. Skipton	4	E	in yard wall
469	Leyland House, Conistone, Skipton	5	S	1550–1650
178	Closed Garth, Conistone, Grassington	7	SE	2 demolished
644	Lythe House, Grassington, nr. Skipton	3	S	1750–1800
5	Grange Farm (was Steepbanks), Linton, nr. Grassington	3	W	1820s
54	Paradise Field, Topham House Farm, Cracoe, Skipton	2	SE	*alcoves*
862	wall of bridge, Hebden, nr. Grassington	?1		in bridge wall
473	Low Hall Cottage, Appletreewick, Skipton	2	W	in yard wall
504	Bent Hill Farm, Hazlewood, Bolton Bridge, nr. Skipton	1	S	in field wall
31	Smallbanks (1), Addingham, Ilkley	3	?SSE	*c.* 1800
32	Smallbanks (2), Addingham, Ilkley	1	S	1779; in ? paddock wall
		1	SSW	1779, in ? paddock wall
30	Reynard Ing, Ilkley	4	S	*c.* 1650

Ribblesdale

64	Taitlands, Stainforth, nr. Settle	14	E	in ? field wall; one filled in
148	Wood House Farm, between Austwick & Feizor	2	S	wall location not known; demolished
75	Old Hall Farm, Feizor, Giggleswick	3	S	demolished
77	Stockdale House, Feizor, Giggleswick	3	S	(nearby house 1700)
677	Bank End Farm, Lawkland, Settle	2	S	
679	Lawkland Green, Lawkland, Settle	6	S	in orchard wall
678	Lawkland Hall Farm, Lawkland, Settle	4	SSW	in farmyard wall
255	Holly Cottage, Giggleswick School, Settle	?1		?1850 or earlier, in house wall; demolished
62	Eldroth Old Hall, Giggleswick	2	SSE	?1660s; in orchard wall
63	Eldroth Old Hall, Giggleswick	8	SSE	?1660s; in field wall; 5 filled in
58	Well House, Bankwell Road, Giggleswick	4	S	1700s
59	Queens Rock, Bankwell Road, Giggleswick	4		(house 1720 and 1776)
60	Tems House, Giggleswick	1	N	(house ?1400)
		1	E	
811	Rome Farm, Giggleswick	2		in house wall; DO NOT VISIT
99	(Wearingfold), Higher Wham Farm, Giggleswick Common, nr. Settle	3	S	outside of cattle-fold wall
896	Virginia Croft, Long Preston, Skipton	3	SE	

Airedale

455	Holme House, Gargrave, Skipton	2	E	} 1800–50
		6	S	
879	Winterburn Hall, Gargrave, Skipton	3		wall location not known
520	Lower Woodside Farm, Silsden	4	E	
		4	E	in orchard wall
105	Prospect House, Brunthwaite, Silsden	5	S	1700s or earlier
104	Cowburn Farm, Silsden Moor, Silsden	4	S	*c.* 1836
863	Middle Marchup Farm, Silsden	3	SE	*c.* 1850
466	Rishworth Hall, Bingley	4		wall location not known; ? demolished
65	Wood Nook Farm, Horsforth, nr. Leeds	8	S	1800–50; demolished

Haworth/Clayton area

708a	in field nr. Buckley House, Stanbury, nr. Keighley	6	S	in a field
708b	in field nr. Buckley House, Stanbury, nr. Keighley	1		?*shelter*
456	Ponden Hall, Stanbury, Haworth	4	S	?1801; in a field
		4	W	
154	Thornton Hall, Thornton, Bradford	4	S	*c.* 1640
358	Highgate House Farm, Clayton Heights, Bradford	6	S	1794

Calderdale

925	Doldrum, Cornholme, Todmorden	4	SW	1800-50
203	Jumps Farm, Hudson Clough, Todmorden	3	SW	1800-20
222	Lumb Bank Farm, Heptonstall	5	S	1750-1800; in field wall
		2	S	1750-1800; in cartshed wall
127	Overwood Farm, Savile Estate, Hebden Bridge	8	S	1800-50
927	Mayroyd Hall, Burnley Road, Hebden Bridge	5	SW	1800-50
271	Owlet Cote, Ewood, Mytholmroyd	3	SW	1800-50; in field wall
871	Stoney Royd, Ewood, Mytholmroyd	6	S	*c.* 1715; one demolished
220	Turley Holes Farm, Cragg Vale, Mytholmroyd	16	S	1800-50
151	Swan Bank Farm, Cragg Vale, Mytholmroyd	3	S	1800-50
221	Higher House, Cragg Vale, Mytholmroyd	16	E	1800-50; three may have been sub-divided
870	Flat Head, Soyland, Ripponden, Halifax	2	SE	post-1669
149	Kershaw House, Luddenden Lane, Luddendenfoot	4	SE	1650; in yard wall
272	281 Howcroft Head, Rochdale Road, Greetland	2	S	1850 or earlier
924	Giles House, Hove Edge, Brighouse	2	S	*c.* 1850

Harrogate/Ripon area

6	Hutton Mount, Thirsk Road, Ripon	2	SE	?1600; *alcoves*
639	6 Park Street, Ripon	2	NE	1750-1800; in brick wall
663	Hogg Hall, Sawley, Ripon	3	S	1660
240	Burton Hall, Burton Leonard, Harrogate	8	S	?1650-1750
224	Hill Top Farm, Burton Leonard, Harrogate	4	S	1750-1800
116	Bilton Hall, Harrogate	2	S	*c.* 1479; in brick wall
759	Tickhill Farm, Wetherby Road, Knaresborough	6	SE	
27	Parkside House, Follifoot, Harrogate	8	S	1600; in orchard wall
29	The Cottage, Ruddings, nr. Follifoot, Harrogate	4	S	?1750-1800
192	Moat House, East Keswick, Leeds	3	S	1750-1800
		1	S	1750-1800; in yard wall
881	Rosemary Cottage, High Street, Boston Spa	2	E	*c.* 1750

East of Leeds

186	Linley House, Barkston Ash, Tadcaster	12	S	pre-1800; four may have been sub-divided
760	Steeton Hall Cottage, South Milford	13	S	? medieval
470	Milford Cottage, South Milford, Leeds	10	SE	1734; in brick wall
53	Barlow Hall, Barlow, Selby	1	S	*shelter*

Huddersfield

939	Foxstone Edge, Lingards Moor, Slaithwaite	?1		wall location not known; DO NOT VISIT
878	The Nook, 23 Cowlersley Lane, Milnsbridge, nr. Huddersfield	3	SW	
552	Wilshaw Vicarage, Meltham	4	N	

Barnsley

499	Skyers House, Hemmingfield, nr. Barnsley	?30	N	1600-1650; in orchard walls; demolished
		6	W	

Vale of Pickering

758	The Lund, Hutton-le-Hole	8	SW	1650-1700; in orchard wall
757	Laund House, Wrelton	7	S	(house 1830)
762	Cropton Lane, Pickering	6	S	wall-location not known
651	Stonegrave House, Stonegrave, York	1		1650-1700; *winter storage*
657	Howe House (or Farm), Old Malton	6	S	?1700-50; in cartshed wall
652	behind 2 Keld Close, Scalby Road, Scarborough	2		in ? field wall

North York Moors

756	The Café, Osmotherley, nr. Northallerton	6	S	pre-1780
128	Hollins Farm, High Farndale, (nr. Church Houses)	1	?S	*shelter*
83	Dale Head Farm, Westerdale, nr. Whitby	6	S	1832; in field wall
197	Great Fryup [?Ellers House], Lealholm, ?Danby	1	SSE	1850-1900, *shelter*
82	New Wath Apiaries, Goathland	1		1750-1800; *winter storage*

CHICORY IN YORKSHIRE: A CROP AND ITS CULTIVATION

By A. HARRIS

Although the outlines of a history of chicory cultivation in Yorkshire were sketched many years ago in newspaper articles and an authoritative pamphlet, several questions affecting this once important rural activity remain unanswered.[1] In particular, the published accounts are reticent concerning the circumstances in which chicory first came to be cultivated as a root crop in the county for the purpose of mixing with coffee. Compiled for the most part in the earlier years of the present century, when little chicory was grown either in Yorkshire or elsewhere in Britain, these sources have a great deal to say about the industry's protracted decline during the second half of the nineteenth century, but beyond indicating that they were active *c.* 1840, they tell us little about its pioneers.[2] Still less do they explain how a group of parishes in the neighbourhood of York came to achieve prominence in chicory production, a striking omission given that almost any deep, friable and open-textured soil capable of growing carrots or potatoes successfully was likely to be suitable also for chicory.[3] Yet by 1850 most of the chicory grown for commercial purposes in the north of England was to be found within a few miles of the city and during the peak years of production it is likely that between 40 and 45 per cent of the home-grown crop came from this district.[4] In the absence of detailed information, we can only guess at the circumstances which might have produced such an intriguing and apparently eccentric distribution. A further limitation of these sources of information is that when they do refer to the earliest days of the industry, they at once become highly selective. Since their authors were concerned less with origins than with arguing a case for the revival of chicory growing or drawing attention to what had become something of a curiosity, this is perhaps not surprising. In failing to give an adequate account of what happened during the 1840s and 1850s, however, they avoid the awkward fact that the early days of the industry had been marked nationally by scandal owing to the fraudulent use of chicory as an adulterant. 'In many quarters the very name of chicory has become a matter of offence', *The Farmer's Magazine* observed in 1860.[5] If we are to believe the writers of the articles *c* 1900, the only serious controversy to disturb the industry had arisen after 1854 with the abolition in that year of Customs duty on imports of foreign kiln-dried chicory and the imposition in 1860 of Excise duty on the home-grown product, much to the annoyance of growers in this country.[6] There are therefore grounds for thinking that these accounts are neither complete nor impartial, providing as they do either a producer's view of agricultural history or an interesting , but limited, interpretation of a relict activity. This paper makes no claim to be a comprehensive survey of chicory cultivation in Yorkshire. Its purpose rather is to suggest that the earliest years of the industry are no less interesting than the better

1. *Yorkshire Gazette*, 26 February 1885, 14 June 1902; L. Foster *The Chicory Duty* (York 1902).
2. *Yorkshire Gazette*, 15 November 1902.
3. P. L. Simmonds, *Coffee and Chicory: their Culture, Chemical Composition, Preparation for Market and Consumption* (London 1864) p.93; Foster, *op.cit.*, p.3.
4. P. L. Simmonds, 'On the Culture and Commerce of Chicory', *Pharmaceutical Journal*, Series 2 (1860–61), p.122.
5. 'Chicory and its Uses', *Farmer's Magazine*, Series 3 (1860), p.311.
6. Foster, *op.cit.*, passim.

documented years of decline and that the circumstances in which the crop gained prominence are of more than local interest.

Reports which described the Continental practice of preparing the root of *Cichorium intybus* (chicory or succory) for use as a beverage were beginning to circulate in Britain about 1800.[7] A communication to the Society of Arts in the summer of 1800 was evidently expected to be received as a novelty, since its author John Taylor, who wrote from Leipzig, sent with his paper specimens of seed and samples of chicory root 'in different Stages of its Preparation'. Details were given also of how the crop was grown and its roots dried and converted into a powder for sale. The point was made that a mixture of chicory and coffee was not only acceptable to the taste but also cheaper than coffee alone. Taylor commented too on the German practice of feeding leaves of chicory to livestock. Their use for this purpose may not have come as a surprise to knowledgeable members of the Society, for the agricultural writer Arthur Young (1741-1820) had experimented with chicory in this way many years earlier.[8] Indeed Young, who obtained seed from France, was widely credited in his lifetime with being the first person to grow the cultivated form of *Cichorium intybus* in this country on a large scale, though both *Cichorium intybus* and its relative *Cichorium endivia* had long been sown in gardens for medicinal and salad purposes, while *Cichorium intybus* grew wild in many places.[9] The use of chicory as a fodder crop continued to be mentioned in farming textbooks long after Young's time, but no evidence appears to link his work in the 1780s with the revival of interest in the crop half a century or so later.

The reason for its revival is almost certainly to be found in the information which continued to reach this country after 1800 by way of travellers and expatriates who had come across the mixture of chicory root and coffee and had liked it. In a paper read before the Caledonian Horticultural Society in 1819, Dr. William Howison recorded that 'chicory grows wild amongst the fields and pastures of the Russian Empire . . . in the same manner as it does in Kent,' but that in making 'artificial coffee' it was the habit in Russia always to use 'the cultivated sort'.[10] Those who could afford to do so, including 'almost all the British families settled in Russia', were in the habit of mixing chicory powder with coffee: only the poor drank it 'by itself as a substitute'. Like Taylor before him, Howison exhibited specimens of kiln-dried root and told his audience how these had been prepared. He reminded them that chicory leaves could be fed to livestock and, if required, be taken for salad 'at the commencement of the season'.[11] Howison concluded by suggesting that the Caledonian Society might investigate the subject further. 'Additional information' [he observed] 'may be procured from members who have lately visited the Continent, as I am well aware that this plant is extensively used in Germany, Holland, etc. to furnish coffee and was particularly so during the late war'.[12] Others were to say much the same and were to urge that chicory should be cultivated for its root in

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7. J. Taylor, 'Mode of Cultivating the English Chicoree Plant, Cichorium Intybus of Linnaeus', *Journal Society of Arts,* xix (1801) p.242 ff.
8. *Annals of Agriculture,* x (1788), pp.216-17, xi (1789), pp.145-6.
9. J. C. Morton (ed), *A Cylopedia of Agriculture* (Glasgow, Edinburgh and London, 1851), I. p.457; J. Lindley, *Medical and Oeconomical Botany* (London 1849), p.235; U. P. Hedrick (ed), *Sturtevant's Edible Plants of the World* (New York, 1972), pp.166-7; T. G. Tutin, V. H. Heywood, N. A. Burgess, D. M. Moore, D. H. Valentine, S. M. Walters, D. A. Webb (eds), *Flora Europaea,* 4 (Cambridge 1976), pp.304–5; J. Harvey, *Early Gardening Catalogues* (London and Chichester, 1972), p.20.
10. W. Howison, 'An account of the Russian Chicory Plant, and of the Artificial Coffee, prepared in great quantity, over that country, from its root, as well as from the roots of common Dandelion', *Memoirs of the Caledonian Horticultural Society,* 3 (1825), pp.132-9. I am indebted to Miss B. E. Moon, the Librarian and to Dr. J. T. D. Hall, Sub-Librarian Special Collections, University of Edinburgh, for assistance in gaining access to a copy of this paper.
11. *Ibid,* p.136.
12. *Ibid,* p.137.

this country.[13] Though they failed to agree about the precise origins of the practice of mixing chicory with coffee, contemporaries were unanimous in thinking that the custom had reached Britain from the European mainland during the earlier years of the nineteenth century.[14]

So also for many years did the chicory itself. Consignments of foreign chicory began to arrive about 1820, though at first in such small quantities that they attracted little official attention.[15] Roasted or ground chicory was enumerated separately for import duty only in 1832 and dried chicory in the root not until 1836.[16] It was no doubt for this reason that some writers were later to date the origins of the trade itself to 1832.[17] But business in foreign chicory must have been brisk even in 1830, for in that year the Commissioners of Excise began to receive warnings that chicory mixtures were being passed off as pure coffee in London and elsewhere and were asked for their comments on the legal position.[18] Since coffee paid a substantial duty on entering the country and was considerably more expensive than chicory, there was ample incentive for fraud. A growing traffic in chicory before 1832 is suggested also by the appearance in trade directories and elsewhere of firms with a declared interest in the commodity. One London importer could claim to have been trading in French chicory 'for some time' by 1830 and there is evidence, even by this date, of a network of wholesalers, some of whom were engaged also in the retail trade, though seldom in either capacity in chicory alone.[19] When, in 1830, Messrs. A. Baruchson & Co., chemists and druggists, of Mytongate in Hull, advertised chicory for sale (under the slogan 'it not only improves but saves') they were able to list agents in Beverley, Bradford, Halifax, Leeds and York, as well as Manchester.[20] The same firm imported dried root and chicory powder through Hull from Rotterdam, Hamburg and Dunkirk and included 'Chicoree Manufacturers' among a lengthy list of business interests in 1834.[21] These comprised, in addition to chicory, the making of mustard, snuff and pigments as well as the sale of agricultural seeds, tea and tobacco.

The origins and affiliations of the early chicory firms await detailed study, but a tentative conclusion would be that many recruits to the trade were involved already in the business of importing and processing agricultural commodities. Before the duty of 1832 brought about a change, much of the trade appears to have been in chicory powder: this had already been roasted and ground and was ready for use. Not unlike ground coffee in appearance, it entered the country packed in casks and was then sold to the grocers. Following the imposition of the duty in 1832, importers turned to the kiln-dried product, which was unground and unroasted, but considerably lighter in weight and less bulky than 'green' roots. Placed in layers on the perforated floor of a drying kiln above a

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13. J. C. Loudon, *An Encyclopaedia of Agriculture,* 8th ed. (London 1883), pp.870, 942. Most of the comments about chicory in this edition refer to an earlier period and are useful retrospectively.
14. 'The Great Coffee Question', *Household Words,* 3, No. 55 (April 1851), p.51; T. Graham, J. Stenhouse, D. Campbell, 'Chemical Report on the Mode of Detecting Vegetable Substances mixed with Coffee for the purpose of Adulteration', *Quarterly Journal Chemical Society,* 9 (1857), p.35.
15. [H. Letheby] 'Adulteration', *Encyclopaedia Britannica,* 9th ed., 1 (Edinburgh, 1875), p.169.
16. British Parliamentary Papers (cited below as B.P.P.) *Customs Tariffs of the United Kingdom from 1800 to 1897,* 1898 (C.8706), lxxxv, p443 ff.
17. According to George Dodd, *The Food of London* (London, 1856, reprinted New York, 1976), p1.43, 'Chicory was first imported in 1832'.
18. Public Record Office, CUST 119/424. I am grateful to Mrs. E. Shenton for allowing me to see these papers before they were fully calendared. No piece numbers are available at the time of writing.
19. Public Record Office, CUST 119/425, C. C. Hammond, 18 Little Tower St., London, to Commissioners of Excise, 17 May 1830; trade directories.
20. *Doncaster, Nottingham and Lincoln Gazette,* 10 September 1830.
21. Weekly *Bills of Entry* for the port of Hull, 1832, Hull Central Library; Pigot & Co., *National Commercial Directory, Chester . . . York* (1834) *sub.* Yorks, pp.781, 783-4, 786, 791.

coke fire, the original roots lost by evaporation about 75 per cent of their weight during the drying process. Arriving in this country as kiln-dried root, the chicory was 'sold to the drysalters and grocers, who roast and grind it as they do coffee'.[22] As long as the needs of the trade continued to be met by foreign chicory in this way, the complications of kiln drying remained largely irrelevant to the circumstances of the importers, some of whom, however, like Baruchson & Co., might roast and prepare the dried root before selling it to the grocers, who would mill it further to their requirements. Samuel Younger, a London importer, was to advance the claim of being the first to introduce kiln-dried chicory to the British market in 1834, though there is evidence to suggest that some was entering the country at least as early as 1832.[23] As the trade in kiln-dried chicory developed, an increasing number of firms found it convenient to process the root, not infrequently as one of several activities which involved some form of milling or grinding.[24]

Before 1840 coffee roasters and dealers seem to have been hesitant, at least in public, about associating themselves with the manufacture of chicory. It had long been an offence to defraud the revenue by adulterating coffee by means of roasted matter designed to look like the real thing and it was illegal for dealers in coffee either to make or sell 'scorched and roasted vegetables substances' likely to be used for the same purpose.[25] After 1840, when official attitudes changed, even if the letter of the law did not, coffee roasters became less reticent about their links with the trade, in much the same way that, released from a necessary discretion, coffee retailers then made less of a secret about their purchase from the roasters of chicory 'nibs' that were milled on the premises and kept in some handy container close to the coffee box.[26] The official response to a growing import of chicory was to protect the revenue by imposing in 1832 a duty of 6d per lb. on roasted and ground chicory: this meant that the powder became subject to the same level of duty as British plantation coffee.[27] In 1836 a duty of £20 per ton was imposed on kiln-dried chicory imported into the country.[28] Dealers in coffee had been warned in 1832 that it was an offence to keep or sell chicory once it had been mixed with coffee, but at the same time they were allowed to sell chicory in an unmixed state. The principle was thus admitted that chicory might lawfully be kept on the premises of a dealer in coffee.[29] As *Household Words* was to recall in 1851, customers were now to be treated to a flood of 'real old Mocha from Belgium'.[30]

Between 1832 and 1840 the Commissioners of Excise conducted a desultory campaign against fraudulent dealers, but in August 1840 even this came to an end when a Treasury Minute advised that 'My Lords [of the Treasury] do not consider that any measures

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22. Simmonds, *op.cit.*, (1860-61), p.125.
23. *The Times,* 28 February 1849; P.R.O. CUST 119/425. Younger, of 8 Gt. Tower Street, London, claimed in 1840 to be the 'principal holder of Foreign Chicory Root' in the country. In 1850 he was said to have 'held upwards of £100,000 sterling of Foreign Chicory', but to have been 'ruined by the sale of spurious articles under that denomination'. For Chicory in 1832, weekly *Bills of Entry,* Hull.
24. Trade directories make the point generally. For a link with mustard manufacture for example, in Leeds, Hull and elsewhere see *Yorkshire Gazette,* 5 April, 11 October 1851; *Eastern Counties Herald,* 22 January 1852; trade directories.
25. *Encylcopaedia Britannica,* 9th ed. I (1875), p.169; B. B. Keable, *Coffee,* (London, no date, *c.* 1925), p.107 ff.
26. Chicory 'nibs' were small pieces of the dried root of the size of peas or beans. The larger grocers were said to buy 'nibs' because they ground up readily with coffee, whereas the smaller grocers bought 'from the powder-bin because they have not the convenience for grinding' (*Yorkshire Gazette,* 14 June 1902). For earlier evidence see B.P.P., 1840 (601) v. Evidence of 'A.B.'
27. B.P.P., 1898 (C.8706), lxxxv. pp. 584-5, 587-8.
28. *Ibid.*, p.443.
29. P.R.O., CUST 119/424.
30. *Household Words,* 3, No. 55 (April 1851), p.51.

should be enforced to prevent the sale of coffee mixed with chicory'.[31] The legal niceties of this instruction were to be debated at length before many years had passed, but its immediate effect was to make worthless existing legal sanctions on the sale of coffee mixed with chicory.[32] Proclaiming the principle that 'as between the seller and the customer My Lords desire that Government should interfere as little as possible', the Treasury Minute inevitably encouraged the widespread and often fraudulent use of chicory at a time of high coffee prices.[33] As there was no obligation on the part of the grocer to identify the mixture precisely or to state what proportion chicory might bear to the whole, the product as sold was seldom what it purported to be. It soon became the case, it was alleged, 'that when a person goes into a shop and asks for coffee he is supplied with chicory and coffee by the practice of the trade'.[34] Adulteration frequently began before either the coffee or the chicory reached the grocer, each stage of the marketing process affording opportunity for deception.[35] Even the chicory itself came to be adulterated with a variety of substances, 'some too horrid to mention', but all designed to deceive.[36] The full extent of the fraud thus perpetrated was to become clear only at mid century, largely through the work of Dr. A. H. Hassall for *The Lancet's* Analytical Sanitary Commission, though the fact itself had been published long before.[37] Long before 1850 too the 'Chicory Question' had become a matter of interest not only to dealers in coffee, honest and otherwise, and to importers of foreign chicory, but also to a section of the rural community, who had discovered that they also might make money out of what *The Times* called a 'detestable root'.[38]

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It is unfortunate that the cultivation of chicory as a root crop was already well advanced in this country before any serious effort was made to record its progress. Official attempts to discover what was happening *c* 1840 seem to have been unsystematic and similar attempts by private individuals, though helpful, are not always consistent. According to P. L. Simmonds, writing in 1850, the crop was then 'chiefly grown' in Cambridgeshire, Kent, Leicestershire, Suffolk and Yorkshire.[39] The implication that it might also have been grown elsewhere, though perhaps in smaller quantities, is borne out by references to its cultivation in Norfolk, Lincolnshire, Hertfordshire, Northamptonshire, Essex, Sussex and the Channel Islands at about the same time.[40]

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31. B.P.P. 1849 (178) 1, p.337 ff. contains a useful summary. See also *Hansard,* series 3, 105, 10 May 1849, columns 195-207.
32. *Encyclopaedia Britannica,* 9th ed., I (1875), p.169; 'Food and its Adulterations', *Quarterly Review,* 96 (1855), p.471.
33. B.P.P. 1849 (178) 1, p337 ff.
34. B.P.P. 1854-55 (480) viii. Evidence of G. Phillips.
35. P. L. Simmonds, *Coffee as it is, and as it ought to be* (London, 1850) p.14; A. H. Hassall, *Food and its Adulterations* (London, 1855), p.xxix.
36. *The Lancet,* I of 1849, p.573; *The Times,* 11 March 1851.
37. *The Lancet,* I of 1851, pp 302 ff, 526 ff; J. Pereira, *A Treatise on Food and Diet* (London 1843) p.402.
38. *The Times,* 1 July 1851.
39. Simmonds, *op.cit.,* (1850), pp.13-14.
40. J. Caird, *English Agriculture in 1850-51* (London, 1852), pp. 172-3 for Norfolk; J. A. Clarke, 'Farming of Lincolnshire', *Journal Royal Agricultural Society of England,* Series 1, 12 (1851), p.386; *Household Words,* 3, No. 55 (April 1851), p.51 for Hertfordshire; W. Bearn, 'On the Farming of Northamptonshire', *J.R.A.S.E.,* Series 1, 13 (1852), p.60; *Hansard,* series 3, 117, 30 June 1851, column 1391 ff. for Essex and Sussex; Simmonds, *op.cit.,* (1850), pp.13-14, *Annual Statements of Trade, United Kingdom* and the Market Intelligence columns of the *Yorkshire Gazette* and *Farmer's Magazine* for Guernsey. I am grateful to the Librarians of the Guille-Allès and Priaulx libraries, Guernsey, and to the Reference Librarian, Central Library, St. Helier, Jersey, for information about the crop in the Channel Islands.

When Simmonds came to write on the subject again in 1860, he depicted what looks like a progression northwards of chicory cultivation:

> In the Autumn of 1853 we find [chicory] grown in Kent, Surrey and Essex where the article was prepared, and met with great sale. Finding that there was increasing demand for its root, its culture spread to Bedford, Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridgeshire, Leicestershire, Cheshire and Yorkshire.[41]

The idea that the crop might first have gained favour in south-east England is not implausible, but Simmonds confuses the issue by referring to the year 1853 in this connection, for Surrey, Bedford and Yorkshire had all been mentioned as early as 1844 by the *Pharmaceutical Journal* as counties where there was a particular interest in chicory cultivation.[42] Earlier still, in 1840, the crop was said to be found in 'large quantities' in Yorkshire and in part of North Wales.[43] Even then it was probably well established in some places, since its cultivation was said in that year to be 'rapidly increasing'.[44] The crop's appeal was clearly not confined to Yorkshire, but the county was to provide a congenial home for an unusually long time, whereas chicory was to make only a comparatively brief appearance as a farm crop in many districts.[45] Although the timing of its arrival in different parts of the country is uncertain, there is no reason to doubt the accuracy of contemporary opinion that British farmers began to take an interest in chicory after 1836 and the imposition of a duty on the imported kiln-dried product that was more than merely nominal. Any initial hesitation on their part was removed in 1840 with the decision of the Government to turn a blind eye on the practice of mixing coffee with chicory.[46] Protected to the extent of £20 per ton against imported root and helped by a growing taste among the public for an infusion containing chicory, farmers seized their opportunity.[47] To be able to do so, however, they required both information about the crop and assistance in preparing it for sale. How these might have been provided in Yorkshire is considered next.

The origins of chicory cultivation in Yorkshire are probably to be found in the vicinity of York itself, where its arrival is assigned traditionally to 1839 or 1840.[48] Apart from references to *C.intybus* growing wild on the edge of the city and a clause in a farm agreement designed to discourage its introduction, the earliest contemporary record discovered dates from 1840, when several sources indicate that a crop was harvested locally.[49] Within a year or two a number of parishes close to York had acquired a reputation for the expertise of their growers and merchants and had become a source of information about the crop.[50] When the *Gardeners' Chronicle* produced a detailed account of chicory in 1844 — correctly anticipating that it was likely to become more widely

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41. Simmonds, *op.cit.*, (1860-61), p.122.
42. Anon, 'On Chicory, or Wild Succory', *Pharmaceutical Journal*, 4 (1844-5), pp.119-21.
43. P.R.O., CUST 119/425, July 1840. The Rhyl district is specified in North Wales.
44. P.R.O. CUST 119/424.
45. For this reason, the list given here of places where chicory is known to have been grown is probably incomplete. The crop was cultivated in Ireland, but no attempt has been made here to follow its fortunes in that country ('Chicory', *Farmer's Magazine*, Series 3, I (1852), p.172 quoting the *Irish Farmer's Gazette*).
46. *The Times* 28 February, 1849.
47. *Hansard*, Series 3, 74, 29 April 1844, column 398 ff; P.R.O.CUST 119/426.
48. *Yorkshire Gazette*, 14 June, 15 November 1902.
49. H. Baines, *The Flora of Yorkshire* (London 1840), p.65; H. J. Wilkinson, *Yorkshire Herbarium* (no date *c* 1918), Pt.x, p.175; Borthwick Institute of Historical Research (hereafter cited as B.I.H.R.), YM/EP14/2c, 1836; P.R.O. CUST 119/425; York City Archives, Ouse Navigation Dues Book 326/25/2, 1836-41, 9 September 1840.
50. P.R.O. CUST 119/424.

grown — it did so 'from enquiries made in the neighbourhood of York'.[51] Similarly, when George Nussey (a Leeds dyer who was interested in the mordant properties of the plant's leaves as well as in its root) sought information for his own schemes in Lincolnshire, it was to York and the nearby township of Gate Helmsley that he turned for advice, visiting the district for himself and setting down in his notebook the results of his enquiries.[52] It may be significant too that surviving correspondence about the crop in the files of the Customs and Excise relates almost entirely to places near York.[53]

The early days of the industry were recalled in the winter of 1848 by J. H. Barber of Tang Hall, on the outskirts of the city:

> At first . . . the cultivation of Chicory in this neighbourhood was confined to one or two individuals who manufactured largely, taking land for the purpose both from year to year and for the crop only. For some of the land thus taken they paid a considerable allowance — from £10 to £12 per acre with six to eight cart loads of good manure and undertaking the sowing, cleaning and taking up themselves, selecting the best and most productive soils. For a field of my own after a failing crop of potatoes for which it had been well manured, I was allowed £14 per acre, but as the cultivation of this plant extended, experience taught them that small farmers on light, sandy, low rented land (such as Langwith, Stockton, Warthill, etc.), could produce the raw material at a much cheaper and in some seasons, more abundant rate (as in 1847) than in superior and therefore dearer soils. They have in great measure abandoned their previous system, and for what little land they now take for a crop they pay less remuneratively, say from £6 to £8 without manure, and except in a few instances the care and expense bestowed on the growth is also decreased.[54]

It would seem that the pioneers were to be found among a handful of individuals who, in order to secure a crop at all, were compelled to rent land for the purpose at an unusually high price. This is consistent with Simmonds's remark that on its first introduction 'so little was the plant known in England that the farmers required the rent to be paid in advance for the use of their land.'[55]

According to contemporaries, the founder of the local industry was Henry Wilberforce (1802-1876), the first, and for some years the only, chicory merchant to be recorded in York. Engaged at different times and occasionally simultaneously as corn merchant, grocer and dealer in tea and flour, Wilberforce had interests also in the wine trade and in agricultural seeds, bone manure and other fertilizers.[56] A member of the Yorkshire Agricultural Society and of York City Council, he was also the father of a well known son in William Wilberforce (1828-1895) farmer, businessman, Lord Mayor of York and wealthy chicory merchant in his turn.[57] Working from premises in Walmgate,

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51. *Gardeners' Chronicle,* 11 May 1844.
52. Lincs. Archives Office, HD 25/31 Nussey. The use of chicory leaves for the purpose of dyeing is noted in C. P. Johnson, *The Useful Plants of Great Britain* (London 1867), p.146 ff. Mr. R. Broadhurst, the Curator of the Colour Museum, Bradford, kindly sent me information in response to an enquiry about this aspect of chicory cultivation. Nussey grew woad as well as chicory.
53. P.R.O. CUST 119/424-426.
54. The letter is in P.R.O., CUST 119/424. The original is dated simply 17 December, but internal evidence suggests that it was written in 1848. Some punctuation has been provided in the extract given above. Barber was a silversmith, who had purchased Tang Hall in 1837, at about the time that he joined the newly formed Yorkshire Agricultural Society (P. M. Tillott, ed., *V.C.H., The City of York* (London, 1961), p.501; trade directories; list of members, *Transactions* Yorkshire Agricultural Society, 1837-38).
55. Simmonds, *op.cit.,* (1860-61), p.122.
56. The most explicit reference to Wilberforce as the founder of the local industry occurs in the *Hull Advertiser,* 13 July 1849 where, however, he is confused by the correspondent of the *Gateshead Observer* with Archdeacon R. I. Wilberforce (d.1857). Henry Wilberforce's business activities can be traced in trade directories from the 1830s onwards. His death is reported in *Yorkshire Gazette,* 30 December 1876. The Freemen's Claims, York City Archives, show that he was admitted to freedom in 1823, after serving as an apprentice bricklayer to his father Walter Wilberforce, also a bricklayer.
57. *Yorkshire Gazette,* 4 May 1895.

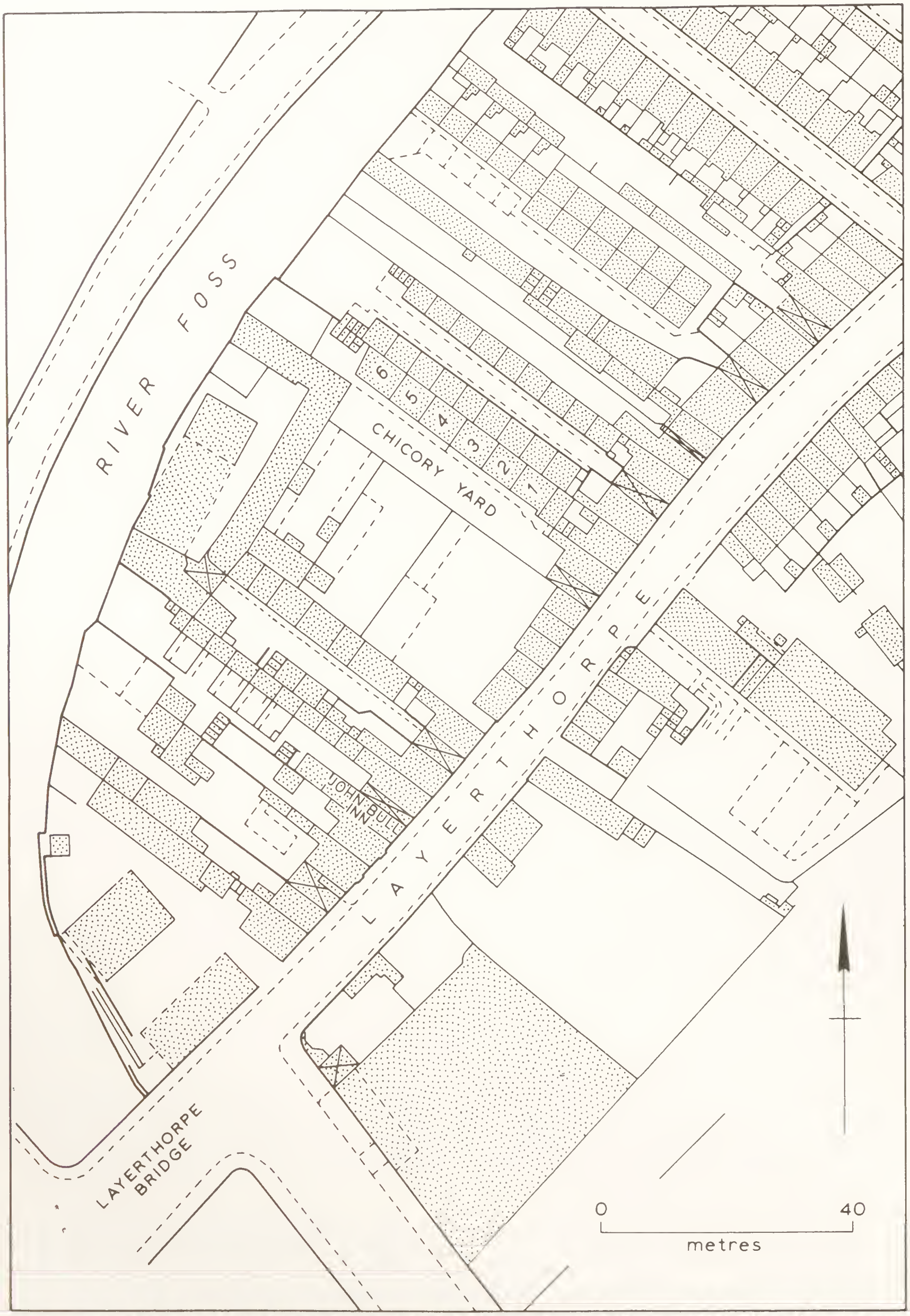

Fig. 1. The site of the Layerthorpe chicory kilns of Thomas Smith & Son, *c.* 1930. When this map was compiled, the land was occupied by a marine store, a builder's yard, a fellmonger and premises belonging to York Waterworks, but the row of six houses nearby known as Chicory Yard remained intact. Redrawn from a plan in the York City Archives Office (Health Department records, Box 23b).

Wilberforce senior had established business links with a number of growers on the edge of the city by the early 1840s, when his prices for root were widely quoted.[58] Starting later, but surviving into the present century, the firm of Thomas Smith and Son was also associated with the early days of the Yorkshire industry. The son of a York currier, also Thomas, Thomas junior (1824-1914) had trained as a druggist and apothecary before joining the chicory business founded during the 1840s by his father in partnership with Matthew Rymer, a local coal merchant.[59] Though the partnership was dissolved in 1851 and Thomas senior died in 1857, the business was to flourish under the son and remained in the city until *c* 1950. Premises off Layerthorpe were used from *c* 1853 to dry the roots, probably after the break up of the partnership with Rymer, whose kilns survived for a time in Jewbury[60] (Fig. 1; Plate 1). Later in the century additional premises were acquired

Plate 1. Chicory Yard, from an undated photograph in the Environmental Health Department, City of York The row of houses shown in the photograph was built for Thomas Smith in or about 1853. The yard was entered from Layerthorpe 'by a covered passage 29 feet long and 8 feet wide'. The houses were constructed back-to-back with others in Portland Place. Although it adjoined the chicory works, the row may have been built as a speculation: the census returns show that its inhabitants were engaged in a variety of occupations in the nineteenth century. Demolished *c.* 1961. *(Photograph York Corporation).*

58. Lincs. Archives Office, HD 25/31, Nussey.
59. *Knowles York Scrapbook, 1914-1923,* p.40, York City Library, contains much information about Thomas Smith. There is more in York City Archives, Freemen's Claims, 1845, and in *Calendar of Grants of Probate* (1914) and original Wills, District Probate Sub-Registry, York. Smith died 21 May 1914. His will was proved 4 August 1914. For the partnership, Rate Books, St. Cuthbert with St Helen-on-the-Walls, 1848, p.4 (York City Archives) and *The Law Times* 6 September 1851. For Rymer, *York Pedigrees* (typescript in York City Archives Office) compiled by H. Murray.
60. Rate Book, St. Maurice, 1855, p.53.

by Smith in Lower Orchard Street, off Jewbury[61] (Plate 2). From time to time more shadowy figures appear among the ranks of the early chicory merchants: it is not always clear whether they manufactured the roots or merely dealt in chicory. Thus H. S. Thompson, a landowner and resident of Skelton, was selling the roasted product wholesale for export in 1848.[62]

The role of men like Wilberforce and Smith was of vital importance. By demonstrating that chicory could be grown and marketed successfully and by paying considerably more than the normal rent for the use of land on which to grow it, they drew the attention of landowners and farmers alike to its commercial possibilities. Before the crop was drawn to their notice in this way, it is likely that local farmers would have known little about the cultivation of chicory even if they were aware of its existence. As late as 1853 the *Farmer's Magazine* complained of the reluctance of growers to pass on practical details about chicory, and even the York Farmers' Club found it necessary to devote one of their earliest meetings to an exchange of information on the

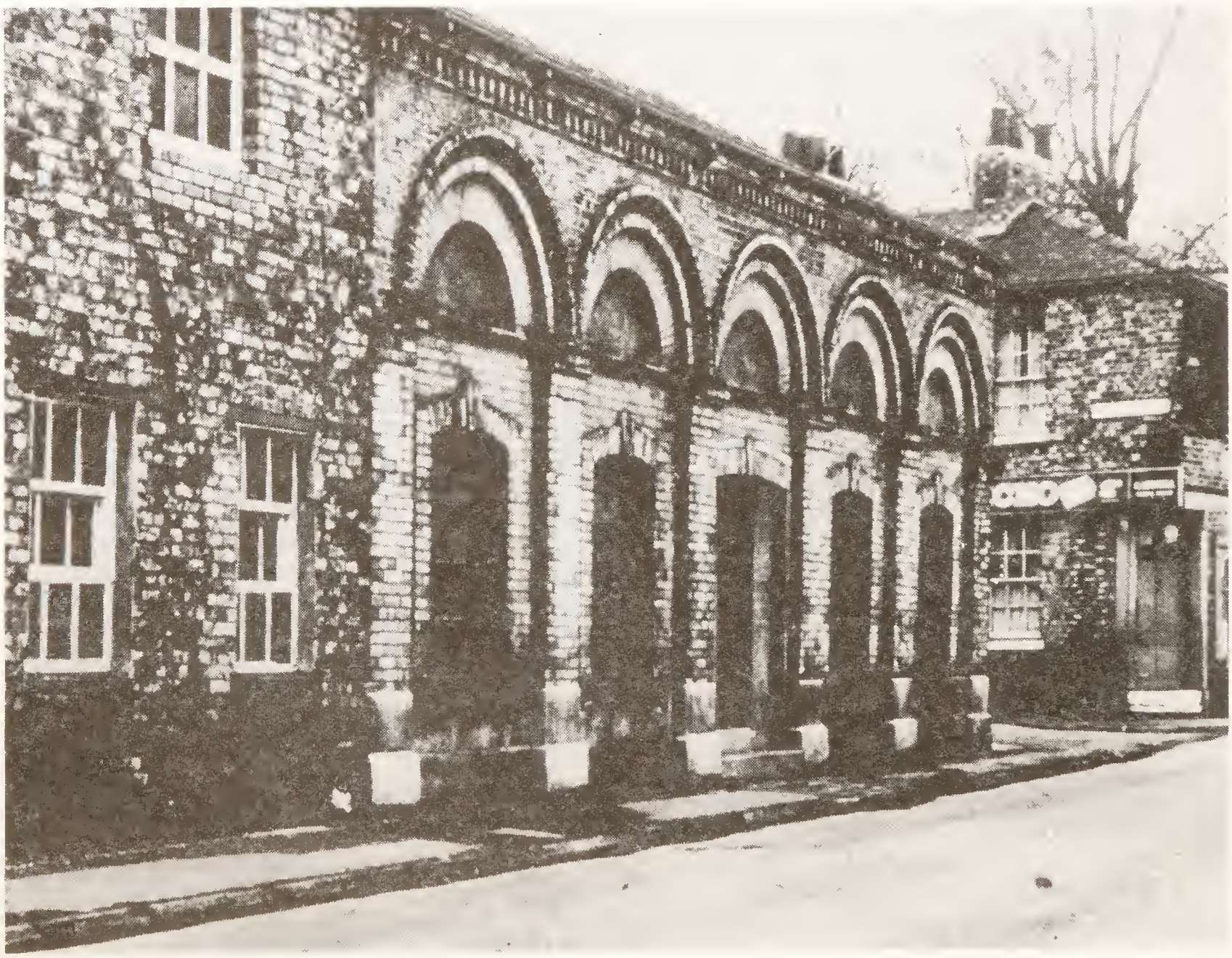

Plate 2. Thomas Smith's chicory works, Lower Orchard Street and Fossbank, York. Built *c.* 1860 and demolished *c.* 1964. (*Photograph by courtesy of Mrs. J. Alder, Mrs. E. King and York Excavation Group).*

61. The date of this building is probably *c* 1860. Its construction may have been prompted by the provisions of the Excise regulations of 1860, which made it illegal to dry and roast chicory on the same premises. I am greatly indebted to Mrs. Edna King and to Drs. R. M. Butler and E. A. Gee for information about the Chicory House, though the interpretation given here is my responsibility. The 'chicory factory' appears in *Register of Voters,* York, Monk Ward (1868-1870), p.31.
62. P.R.O. CUST 119/424. Thompson was an early member of the Yorkshire Agricultural Society. For further details see H. E. C. Stapleton and M. J. A. Thompson, *Skelton Village, The Continuing Community* (York, 1971), p.18.

subject.[63] Chicory seed was eventually to become available through York seedsmen, but it is tempting to speculate that its provision might earlier have been organised by the merchants.[64] Their initiative in establishing facilities for drying and roasting chicory in the city was certainly important. Washed root could be carried several miles by road and even further by water and still pay its way when prices were high.[65] Provided that the distances involved were not excessive, the merchant-manufacturer was able to seek land on which to grow the crop wherever he could find it on the outskirts of the city. When Wilberforce and Smith began to buy land for this purpose, as well as rent it, they did so in Holtby, Dunnington, Stockton-on-the-Forest and similar places within easy reach of their kilns and roasting mills.[66] Much of the Yorkshire crop came in this way to be grown on the immediate periphery of York and under the eye of the manufacturers themselves, though islands of chicory cultivation were later to appear elsewhere in the county. There are records of the crop in Holderness, for example, and in several places near Market Weighton and Selby.[67] Notices of farm and similar sales indicate sporadic cultivation elsewhere, probably in response to high prices.[68] The presence of waterways and perhaps the use of rail transport were important in the spread of the crop, but so too was the provision in some conveniently situated place of facilities for drying and roasting the roots.[69]

'Many have wit enough to grow Chicory who cannot succeed in preparing it for sale', the *Gardeners' Chronicle* remarked in 1844, adding that 'to judge from [the] increased quantity of land cultivated, it must be a very profitable business'.[70] In the absence of accurate records, it is difficult to say how quickly the crop might have gained favour in Yorkshire, though estimates made during the nineteenth century suggest a total of about 1,500 acres in 1847 and 3,000 acres in 1850, almost all of which was accounted for by the York district.[71] Free in practice after 1840 from the threat of prosecution, grocers were able to stimulate public taste for a product that was palatable, comparatively cheap and also highly profitable. 'I learnt from "friend Rowntree" (with some amusing hesitation)', Barber wrote of the roasted product in 1848, 'that the price per ton might be quoted at £20 and that the better shops dispose of it at 6d per lb.'[72] At that price a York grocer would have sold for £2.16s. per cwt. a product that had been purchased from the wholesaler for £1 per cwt.[73] But not all shops sold chicory under its own name, nor did their customers always possess the means of milling their own coffee and making up for themselves a

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63. *Yorkshire Gazette*. 6 March 1847.
64. *Yorkshire Gazette,* 8 March 1851, 21 February 1852.
65. Both 'green' and dried chicory were moved by water (York City Archives, Ouse Navigation Dues Book e.g. 326/25/3, 326/30; York City Library, Foss Navigation Tonnage Receipts, 1795-1897, compiled by W. Giles, e.g. 1853).
66. B.I.H.R., CC P12 Dun 5 shows acquisitions of land in Dunnington. There are further indications of ownership or occupation of land in *Yorkshire Gazette,* 10 October 1846, 8 February 1851, 14 February 1880; *White's Directory of York and Neighbourhood,* 7th ed. (Sheffield, 1895), p.324.
67. Census of 1851, H.O. 107/2358 (North Cave); P.R.O., MAF 68/267, 1870 (Barlby, North Newbald); Simmonds, *op.cit.,* (1860-61), p.125. for Holderness.
68. *Yorkshire Gazette,* 16 August 1851 (Snaith).
69. The extent to which rail transport was used at this period is uncertain, but rates for chicory were quoted for several stations near York from about 1850, including Pocklington and Stamford Bridge, which were both within the chicory-growing district. The rates are given in Hull and Selby Railway Rate Book (Manuscript volume, Hull Central Library).
70. *Gardener's Chronicle,* 11 May 1844.
71. P.R.O., CUST 119/424; *Yorkshire Gazette,* 26 April 1851.
72. P.R.O., CUST 119/424. 'Friend Rowntree' is presumably Joseph Rowntree (d.1859), grocer and tea dealer of Pavement, York, in the 1840s.
73. P.R.O., CUST 119/424.

mixture of coffee and chicory.[74] Hence the profusion of ready mixed concoctions, some little better than coloured substances with chicory, that masqueraded under the guise of 'Mocha powder, ladies coffee, cream of Mocha, pectoral coffee, chinese coffee, Tom Thumb coffee' and similar beverages.[75]

Growers for their part might do very well in a good year. For washed root delivered in York, they were offered in 1844 a sum of between £4.10s. and £5 per ton.[76] At an average yield of 6 tons to the acre, which was not unusual locally at the time, they would have received a gross return of between £27 and £30 per acre. According to Barber, light land farmers near York could grow, wash and deliver the crop in the city in 1847 for £9.7s for a yield of 6 tons.[77] Other sources suggest that a net profit of about £18 per acre for 'green' root was not uncommon, although the observation of one farming journal that 'the expense is great and the profit uncertain' was undoubtedly well founded, for both yields and prices varied considerably.[78] The high prices of the early years were not sustained subsequently and it was not unknown for the crop occasionally to fail altogether.[79] On the other hand, chicory at its best yielded an exceptionally good profit and even in some less favourable years might compare well with many of the alternatives that were available to the farmer. As contemporaries pointed out, when cereal prices were low, chicory was 'a boon to the agricultural interest'.[80]

Given the necessary information, the introduction of chicory on to a farm would have presented few technical problems. Little in the way of special equipment was required for its cultivation beyond chicory spades, which were designed to allow the root to be lifted with a minimum of damage, a chicory drill, which in 1843 cost about £20, and the provision of facilities for washing the roots when harvested.[81] Spades and drills were soon made available by local firms, while washing was often effected by resort to the nearest stream of running water.[82] Chicory was usually grown in rotation with cereals and other root crops and was readily accommodated within existing systems of mixed arable farming of the type practised locally.[83] For most farms near York there was the added advantage of an abundant supply of town manure.[84]

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74. The *Yorkshire Gazette's* attitude towards complaints that coffee was adulterated with chicory was equivocal. The practice was deplored, but the remedy was thought to lie with the customer rather than with legislative action. The customer was urged to make up a mixture 'in his own household', though there was ample evidence that the poorest sections of the population, who did not possess a coffee mill and could not afford pure coffee, were in the habit of purchasing a cheap mixture whenever they could obtain it. They were said in consequence to be the most likely purchasers of 'vile and often deleterious rubbish' (*Yorkshire Gazette,* 5 July 1851; *The Lancet* Vol. I of 1851, p.302).
75. Simmonds, *op.cit.,* (1850). p.14.
76. Lincs. Archives Office, HD 25/31, Nussey.
77. P.R.O., CUST 119/424.
78. 'Chicory as a substitute for Coffee', *Farmer's Magazine,* Series 3, 4 (1854), p.511; Simmonds, *op.cit.,* (1860-61), pp.122, 125.
79. 'The small crop raised in Northamptonshire proved last year an entire failure' (B.P.P. 1871, C.370, xvii, p.660). For over-production and fall in prices see *Encyclopaedia Britannica,* 8th ed., II (Edinburgh, 1853), p.335.
80. B.P.P. 1854-5 (432) viii. Evidence of A. H. Hassall. See also *Hansard,* Series 3, 105, 10 May 1849, column 205; *Hansard,* Series 3, 117, 30 June 1851, column 1391 ff. There were complaints in 1849 of low corn prices in the vicinity of York (P.R.O. MH12/14401, letter from R. Tonge Horsley of Gate Helmsley, 21 July 1849).
81. The cost of a chicory drill appears in Lincs. Archives Office, HD25/31, Nussey.
82. *Gardeners' Chronicle,* 11 May 1844. Local makers of chicory implements and machines were John Barker and Thomas Abbey of Dunnington. Reference to their activities appears in *Yorkshire Gazette,* 12 April, 9 August 1851 and *Transactions* Yorkshire Agricultural Society, no.11 (1848), p.67. In 1851 Barker was employing ten men and boys in his Dunnington workshop and Abbey six (H.O. 107/2356).
83. P.R.O. IR 18/11550 (Dunnington), 18/12121 (Murton), 18/12318 (Holtby) provide examples of rotations and farming systems locally.
84. 'The vicinity of York affords considerable advantages both as to facility of obtaining a supply of manure and disposal of Produce' (P.R.O., IR 18/11550). The comment applies to the late 1830s.

'I should say that no crop (not excepting potatoes) furnishes more employment for large numbers of women and labourers, than does chicory', Lancelot Foster of York declared in 1885.[85] The most important labour inputs included the initial preparation of the land by hand digging or deep ploughing, singling and weeding, for which women and children were generally employed and harvesting, which was usually let by the acre to 'a man and his family, or a gang of men'[86] Besides these tasks it was necessary to drill the seed on a fine tilth and to ensure that as little as possible of broken root remained in the ground when the crop was lifted. Acre for acre, it was claimed, chicory provided work for twice as many hands as a corn crop on land of similar quality.[87] That one Yorkshire grower might have employed as many as 300 persons and that up to 20,000 individuals were similarly engaged nationally in 1850, is not improbable, though few could have been other than casual workers.[88] Many of those who found work in the chicory fields were Irish-born residents of York, as Frances Finnegan has shown, and the Irish presence may have helped the local industry at an important stage of its development by supplementing existing sources of casual labour and depressing wage levels.[89]

Despite these advantages, not all farmers would have been able to grow chicory even had they wished to do so. Distance from York, or from some other place where chicory was prepared for sale, was one obstacle, since the merchant's price was for roots washed and delivered. Because of this, growers situated no more than three miles distant from Wilberforce's yard faced a cost for washing and delivery of £1.10s. 6d out of a total cost of cultivation per acre in 1848 of £9.7s. 3d.[90] By making use of the Foss and Ouse navigations and perhaps of railways, growers further afield were able to reach the York market, but distance from a processing centre was to remain an obstacle to cultivation, much as it was in the early days of sugar beet.[91] Less obvious, though not unimportant, was the attitude of landowners towards the crop. Chicory shared with flax, woad and certain other crops a reputation for exhausting the land on which it grew.[92] Its alleged shortcomings in this respect were debated at length, and as late as 1853 were said to have excluded it nationally 'from most of the farms where there seems to be any danger of having it cultivated'.[93] Most growers argued that its power to exhaust the soil was exaggerated. Even so, large quantities of farmyard manure and other fertilizer were applied, and some landlords chose to regard the use of farmyard manure in this way as tantamount to its sale off the farm.[94] Once sown, moreover, the crop had a well deserved reputation for being extremely difficult to eradicate, so that it quickly became a 'vivacious weed'.[95] It would appear that landlords were not easily reassured, for members

85. Foster, *op.cit.*, p.4.
86. *Gardeners' Chronicle,* 11 May 1844.
87. *Hansard,* Series 3, 117, 30 June 1851, column 1396.
88. *Ibid.*, columns 1393-6; Slater's *Royal National Commercial Directory and Topography* (1848), *sub* Yorks, p.1432.
89. F. Finnegan, *Poverty and Prejudice. A Study of Irish Immigrants in York, 1840-1875* (Cork, 1982), pp.27-8, 30. For casual labour generally near York B.P.P. 1843 (510)xii. Evidence of Rev. W. Lund of Dunnington and Rev. C. Ingle of Osbaldwick.
90. P.R.O. CUST 119/424.
91. The parallel with sugar beet has been noted by several writers. See particularly A. H. Hoare, 'Chicory – Growing in England', *Journal Ministry of Agriculture,* xxix, no.4 (July 1932), p.338; H. Henshaw, 'Some Minor Farm Crops: Chicory or succory', *J.R.A.S.E.,* 76 (1915), p.135. In order to be profitable, Henshaw observed, chicory needed to be grown 'within carting distance' of a drying factory.
92. Teazles fell into this same category. R. A. McMillan, 'The Teazle-Growing Trade', *Y.A.J.*56 (1984), p.160. Teazles were grown on the outskirts of York in the 1850s (Finnegan, *op.cit.*, p.32).
93. 'Cultivation of Chicory', *Farmer's Magazine,* Series 3, 4 (1853), p.290.
94. *Ibid; Yorkshire Gazette,* 6 March 1847.
95. J. C. Morton, *The Farmer's Calendar* (London 1869 ed.), p.227; *Farmer's Magazine,* Series 3, 5 (1854), p.511.

of the York Farmers' Club discussed the problem of soil exhaustion in 1847, the tenants of the Yarburgh estate at Heslington were expected to pay additional rent if they grew chicory, and the farming press continued to publicise both problems during the 1850s.[96] Not surprisingly in the circumstances, chicory cultivation appealed to owner-occupiers and to tenants whose holdings were free from restrictive cropping covenants.[97] Though the crop was grown by the holders of large farms, its appeal in Yorkshire would seem to have been particularly great for those who farmed comparatively few acres.[98]

As chicory cultivation developed, a distinction began to emerge between those growers who dried the roots on their premises, and sold the kiln-dried product to the merchants to be roasted, and the majority. This stage had evidently been reached by 1848, when John Daniel, the Overseer of the Poor for Dunnington, explained what had happened in his own parish:

> Within the last two or three years several drying Kilns have been erected in this parish, with one, two or more floors, for the purpose of drying chicory, of which a very large quantity is grown here. The expense incurred in erecting these Kilns varies according to the size, from two or three hundred Pounds to several Hundred (sic) pounds, (one large establishment with steam engine for the whole process of manufacturing the Article ready for the Consumer has cost little short of three thousand pounds) . . . I should state that these Kiln owners have not erected their Kilns for the purpose of drying merely the Chicory which is the produce of the Land in their respective Occupations but they purchase large Quantities as a trade of the Grocers who have no buildings in which to dry their own Chicory.[99] (Plate 3).

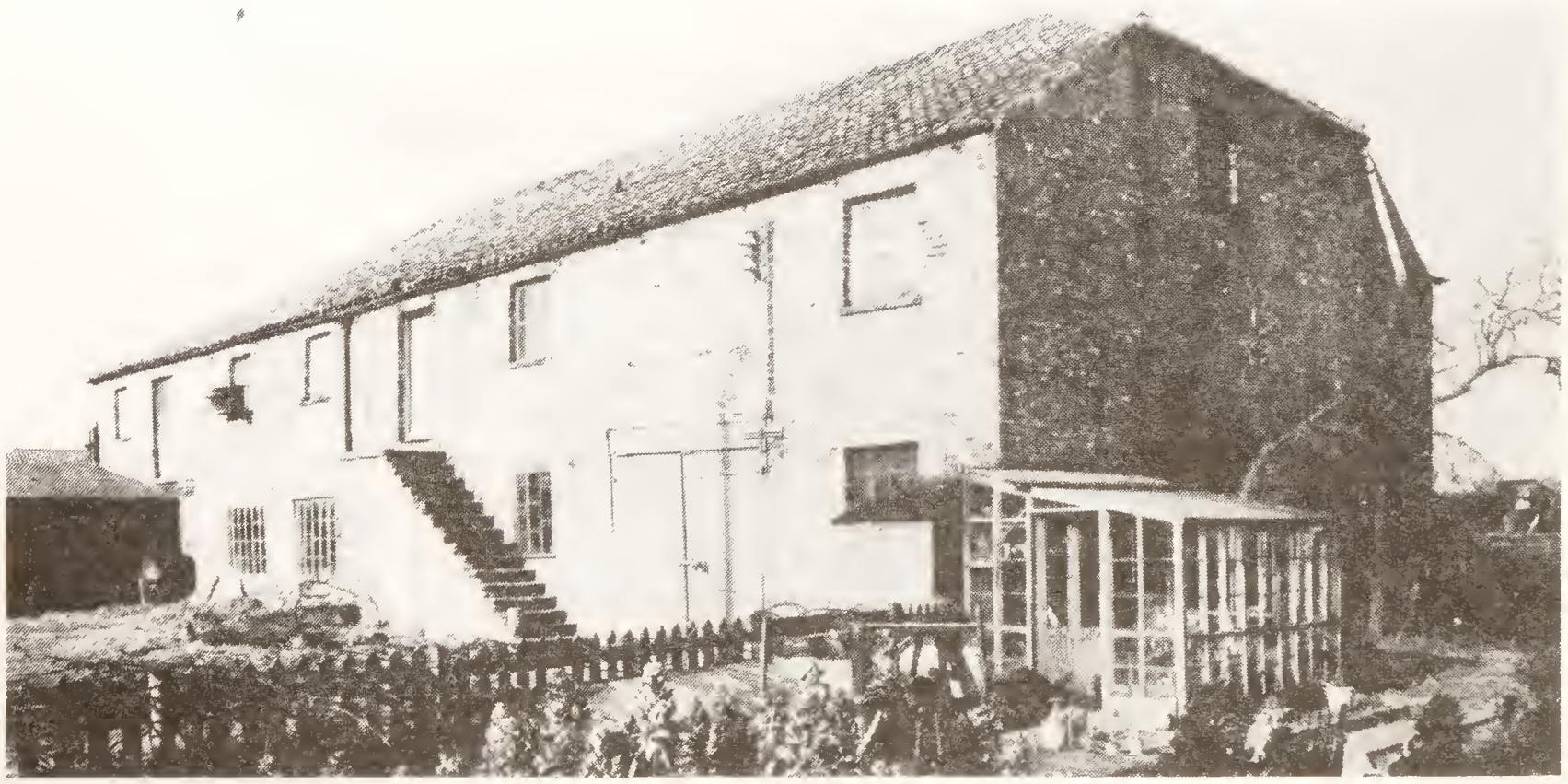

Plate 3. Chicory kiln, Common Lane, Dunnington, York. The external dimensions of this large drying kiln were approximately 25 metres by 12 metres. Like most farm kilns, it would normally have been in use for drying chicory for about six months of the year following the harvest. The kiln shown was demolished in 1982. *(Photograph by A. P. Baggs. Reproduced from V.C.H. Yorkshire East Riding vol. iii, by permission of the General Editor.)*

96. *Yorkshire Gazette,* 6 March 1847; B.I.H.R., YM EP/14/19; *Farmer's Magazine,* Series 3, 4 (1853), pp.290-1.
97. Dunnington, for example, was said to contain 'many small freeholders' (B.P.P. 1867-68 (4068), xvii, p.388). Dunnington tithe documents of the 1830s show many owner-occupiers of copyhold land. P.R.O. IR 18/11550 and B.I.H.R. TA 304 L contain the details.
98. In several important chicory-growing parishes near York both the ownership and occupation of land were fragmented. In Murton, for example, 812 acres were owned by 41 different persons and the farms were 'split into many occupations'. About 80 individuals were interested in the titheable land at Dunnington, but only 20 signed the agreements, the remainder collectively having a small interest (P.R.O. IR 18/12121, for Murton, and 18/11550 for Dunnington).
99. P.R.O., MH 12/14400, 26 August 1848.

The sale of roots by small growers to 'great growers' had been in progress for some time by the late 1840s, but the large manufactory and kilns mentioned by Daniel were still sufficiently new when he wrote to be unrated, 'a circumstance', he reported' 'which has caused great Complaint among many of the ratepayers . . . a great majority of whom are small farmers, and agricultural labourers at rack rents.'[100] Some 45 farm kilns were in operation 'within a short distance of York' between 1840 and 1860, of which (in 1849) 11 were in Dunnington.[101] Even if all of these were active at the same time, it is clear that only a small number of farmers could have dried the crop, though by doing so they added to its value and were able to sell it according to the state of the market, instead of immediately after harvest.[102] If Dunnington is typical, a farm kiln was associated with the owner-occupation of at least part of the holding on which it was situated.[103] This would suggest that its cost was probably met by its builder. Whether, on a rented farm, there might be some financial contribution from the landlord is uncertain. There is evidence, again from Dunnington, that ownership of a kiln might extend across the local farm-size hierarchy. Of seven owners whose kilns can be identified in 1848, two were among the more substantial farmers in the village, with 150 acres of more of land, but holdings of no more than 30 acres and 12 acres also supported a kiln.[104] Dunnington chicory mill, with its steam engine, was founded and owned by two local men.[105]

For some rural communities, as Simmonds remarked, chicory was to become for a time, 'a source of great prosperity'.[106] But the crop was not without its critics in the growing districts, for reasons which had nothing to do with business ethics or the complaints of the more respectable end of the coffee trade. In a revealing aside, J. H. Barber observed in 1848 that he was 'becoming more and more prejudiced' against the crop, even though he grew it himself.[107] Its ill effects were defined, clearly *ex parte,* as the encouragement of 'poaching, turnip stealing, hedge-breaking and other petty thieving', to which were added for good measure the 'breaking up [of] our roads and greatly increasing our poor and highway rates'. Other sources reveal a concern with the pollution of watercourses and the disagreeable smell created by the roasting process.[108] The greatest threat to the future of the industry, however, lay not in petty annoyances but in more fundamental issues, over which the local community had little or no control.

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The fortunes of the British chicory industry during the later years of the nineteenth century were summarised in the *Report on the Cultivation and Drying of Chicory in Great Britain and Belgium* in the comment that 'the home grown supply of this article has, with occasional fluctuations, generally diminished until it has become a negligible quantity in the produce markets of this country, the requirements of which are now [1904] met

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100. *Ibid.*
101. B.P.P. 1904 (Cd2169) xvi, p.377 ff.
102. *Ibid.*
103. List of kilns in B.I.H.R. PR DUN 25, 5 December, 1848. I owe my knowledge of this document to F. Horner, *Dunnington: the history of a Village Community* (York, 1973), p.29, where the date is given as 1842. Details of landholding from B.I.H.R. CC P12 DUN 5 (1847) and TA 304 L (1838).
104. H.O. 107/2356, eg. Thomas Creaser, chicory merchant, 12 acres, Joseph Fo(r)ster, farmer, 150 acres.
105. George and Anthony Foster, of whom George was certainly a farmer. The mill appears in B.I.H.R. CC P DUN 12/1/5. pp.120-4, 153, 268-9 312 ff.
106. Simmonds, *op.cit.,* (1850) p.14.
107. P.R.O., CUST 119/424.
108. K. J. Allison (ed), *V.C.H. York and East Riding,* iii (London, 1976), p.72; B.P.P. 1878 (C. 2130) xxxvii, Pt.2, Appendix 8, 'Chicory Roasting'.

almost entirely by the imports of chicory from Belgium'.[109] In 1902-1903 the domestic chicory crop had yielded fewer than 2,000 cwts. of dried root, compared with imports of almost 80,000 cwts. of the equivalent foreign product.[110]

The long process of decline had been foreshadowed many years before with the gradual dismantling of trade barriers after the Free Trade Acts of the 1840s and the reform of the Customs tariff that followed. In 1853 the duty on foreign chicory was lowered and in the following year removed altogether on the kiln-dried article.[111] A decline in home production was accompanied by a swift and substantial increase in the quantity of foreign chicory entering the country. In 1854 almost 30,000 cwts of kiln-dried chicory were imported, together with a further 9,500 cwts. from the Channel Islands. By 1859 imports had risen to 267,000 cwts; mostly of Belgian origin.[112] Retained imports of coffee on the other hand were to fall during the same period, prompting W. E. Gladstone, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to link the imposition in 1860 of an Excise duty on home-grown chicory with the re-imposition of a Customs duty on the foreign product, 'as a protection to the coffee revenue, which has not grown and which cannot grow as long as an article that assumes the appearance of coffee is admitted free while coffee itself pays a high duty'.[113] Both Customs and Excise duties were raised after 1860, until by 1864 the duty levied on chicory equalled that on coffee. Home grown kiln-dried chicory then paid an Excise duty of £1.4s.3d per cwt and imported root a Customs

Fig. 2. Quantities of home-grown chicory charged with duty in each year since 1861. The figures are taken from B.P.P. 1904 (Cd.2169) xvi for the period before 1903, and thereafter from B.P.P. *Annual Reports of the Customs and Excise*.

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109. B.P.P. 1904 xvi (Cd.2169), p.377 ff. The report is summarised in *Jnl. Society of Arts*, L111 (1904-1905), p.570 ff.
110. *Ibid.* In 1895 there were more than 30,000 acres under chicory in Belgium (*Jnl. Board of Agriculture*, v) (1898-99), p.474.
111. B.P.P. 1904, xvi (Cd.2169), p.377 ff.
112. *Annual Statements of Trade of the United Kingdom.*
113. *Hansard*, Series 3, 156 (1860), column 856.

duty of £1.6s.6d per cwt. When the duties were revised in 1872, the margin of duty in favour of the British grower was reduced from 2s. 3d to 1s. 2d per cwt., where it was to remain for the rest of the century.[114]

In becoming subject to Excise duty, dryers were forced to accept a rigorous system of inspection. They were required to register their premises and to allow their operations to be supervised. Before a batch of roots was dried, it was necessary to give notice to the local Excise officer, and the same procedure was repeated whenever roots were removed from the kiln to the 'secure warehouse' that was to be provided, at its owner's expense, at each kiln. When the roots were removed from the warehouse it again became necessary to summon an Excise officer to assess the produce for duty.[115] As the *Report* of 1904 observed, such measures served to 'discourage' the owners of farm kilns. Lancelot Foster had earlier expressed the point more forcibly: the Exciseman was 'the great bugbear' of the chicory industry.[116] Growers were to complain also that by assessing the duty to be paid on the weight of chicory when it left the warehouse, the Excise were able to collect a sum of money that reflected whatever moisture had been absorbed by the dry roots during storage.[117] Not only were Belgian producers free from the attentions of an Excise officer, but Belgian merchants were in the habit of drying the roots a second time immediately before export, thus converting what was nominally an ordinary kiln-dried product into 'high dried' chicory. This was about 20 per cent lighter in weight than ordinary dry root and was assessed for duty accordingly.[118] Combined with lower labour costs and generally higher yields, these circumstances constituted formidable obstacles in the way of the domestic grower and dryer.[119]

Decline was erratic and prolonged (Fig. 2). In deciding whether to risk a crop of chicory, farmers must have had in mind earlier experience as well as the alternatives open to them, so that in some years many more or fewer acres might be sown. It was said in 1856, for example, that improved corn prices had persuaded some growers that 'they could turn their land to better account' than by retaining it under chicory.[120] Market intelligence was important too and news of the season's harvest in Belgium or France could influence the area sown in this country during the following spring.[121] In announcing the imposition of an Excise duty in 1860, Gladstone could claim that it was 'not a serious matter, because the growth of chicory in this country had almost died out'.[122] About 600 acres of chicory were in fact grown in Great Britain in 1866-7, but by the early 1870s there were fewer than 300 acres. After 1874, and a sharp decline, the area dwindled still further and in 1896 chicory growing was described as a 'failing industry'. In 1903 only 40 acres were left.[123]

Yorkshire's experience followed the national pattern and the 400 acres of 1867 had become by 1874 fewer than 200 acres: these were situated, as they had been earlier, largely within a mile or two of York (Fig. 3).[124] When Lancelot Foster addressed the

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114. B.P.P. 1904 xvi (Cd. 2169), p.377 ff.
115. The terms of the Bill to grant a duty of Excise on chicory are set out in B.P.P. 1860 iii (296), p.227 ff.
116. Foster, *op.cit.*, p.4.
117. B.P.P. 1904 xvi (Cd.2169), p.377 ff.
118. *Ibid.* For an amendment to the way in which duty was assessed on the home-grown product see *Jnl. Board of Agriculture* xiii (1906-07) pp.678-9.
119. The *Annual Reports of the Commissioners of Inland Revenue* (B.P.P.) contain copious references to the state of the industry in this country and abroad, eg. 21st Report 1878 (C. 2158) xxvi, p.717 ff.
120. B.P.P. 1856 (379), viii. Evidence of J. Woodin.
121. B.P.P. 1912-13 (Cd, 6462), xvii, p. 547 ff.
122. *Hansard,* Series 3, 156 (1860), column 856.
123. B.P.P. 1873 (C.844) xxi, p.651 ff; 1875 (C.1329) xx p.513 ff; 1896 (C.288) ix, evidence of R. Bannister; 1904 xvi (Cd.2169), p.377 ff.
124. B.P.P. 1875 (C.1329), xx, 513 ff., 1876 (C.1607)xx, p.457 ff.

Derwent District Agricultural Club on the subject of chicory in 1885, he could say that commercial growing locally was 'almost extinct'.[125] Foster's purpose, at a time of agricultural depression, was to achieve the revival of chicory growing by a reform of the duties, a subject to which he was to return in 1902.[126] The most effective stimulus to revival however, in Yorkshire as elsewhere, was to be crop failure abroad or the disruption of imports in time of war.[127] The Great War provided the necessary incentive, but after a brief revival commercial growing in Yorkshire came to an end shortly

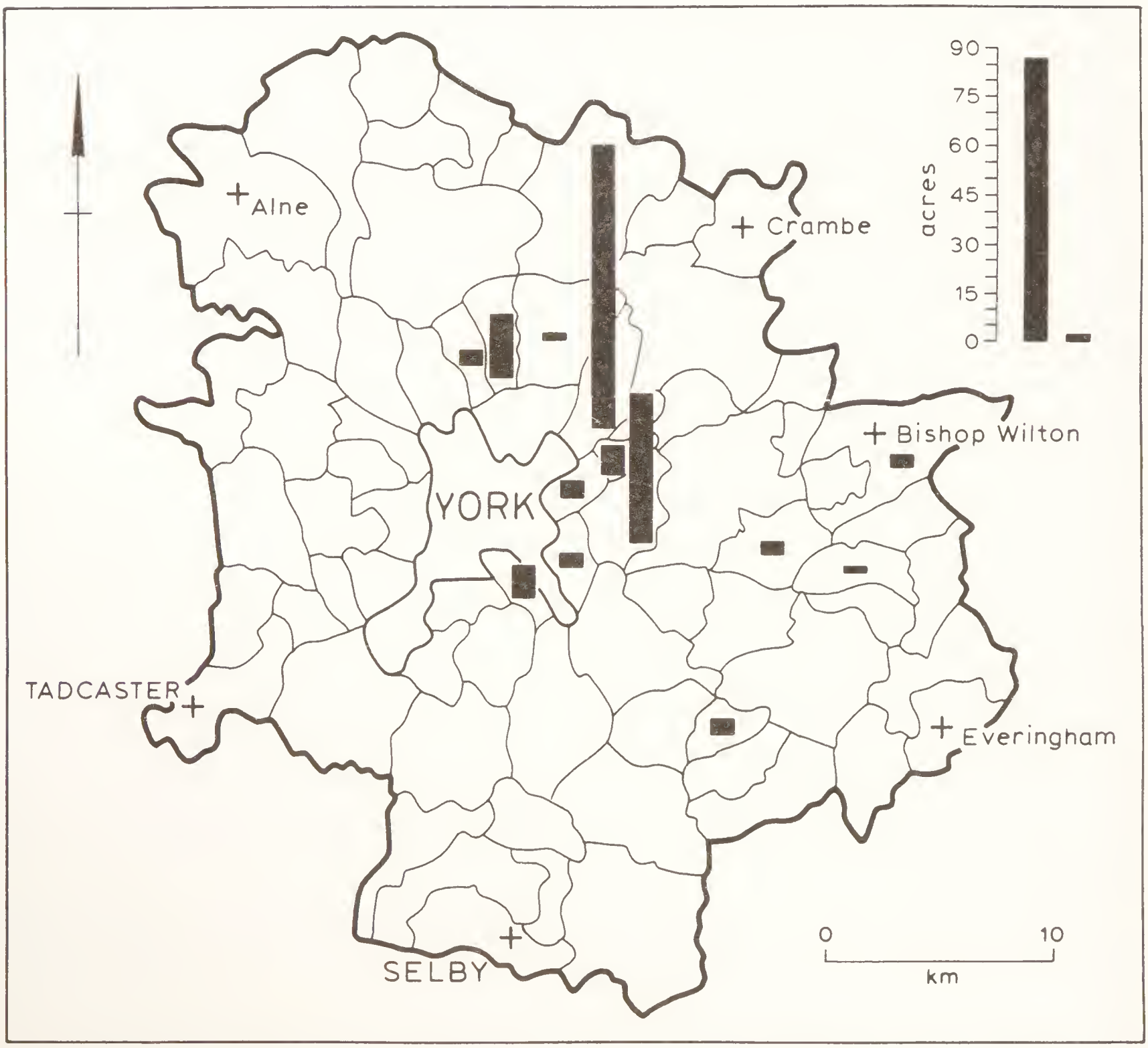

Fig. 3. Land under chicory near York in 1874. A small acreage was grown elsewhere in Yorkshire beyond the district shown on the map. The second column of the bar graph represents the smallest acreage indicated, namely two acres. Map compiled from P.R.O. MAF 68/381-3.

125. *Yorkshire Gazette,* 26 February 1885.
126. *The Chicory Duty* (1902) was a revised version of Foster's address to the Derwent District Agricultural Club in 1885. Foster's interest in the subject of chicory stemmed from his involvement over many years with the commercial and industrial life of York. This can be traced in part from *Yorkshire Gazette,* 21 June 1913. See also *York Pedigrees* (typescript in York City Archives Office) compiled by H. Murray.
127. B.P.P., 1912-13 (Cd. 6462), xvii, p.547 ff; 1920 (Cmd. 1082), xiii p.399 ff; 1927 (Cmd. 2960), viii, p.229 ff; *Yorkshire Gazette,* 27 March 1915; 'The Cultivation of Chicory', *Jnl. Board of Agriculture,* xxi (1914-15), p.1019 ff.

afterwards.[128] The abandonment of farm kilns after 1860 had weakened the position of local growers in any event by making it necessary for them once again to sell 'green' roots to a merchant immediately after harvest at a price determined by contract.[129] Smith's yard off Layerthorpe contained the only drying kilns in the country by 1902 and together with the firm's roasting mill in Lower Orchard Street, continued to serve the trade in much the same way as in the past until about the time of Thomas Smith's death in 1914.[130] The firm of Thomas Smith & Son (York) Ltd., continued to roast and grind chicory obtained from elsewhere until *c.* 1950.[131]

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Yorkshire was not the last district in England to grow and manufacture *C.intybus* for the coffee trade. At the time of writing that distinction belongs to East Anglia, where several attempts to revive the industry were to take place after 1900 and where the crop was grown, dried and roasted as recently as 1979-1980.[132] When Excise duty on home-grown chicory was finally removed in 1926, the imported product remained subject to Customs duty. Thus protected, manufacturers and growers again showed interest in the crop. In 1930 the firm of Chicory Ltd., of St. Ives, was formed to process roots grown on contract by local farmers.[133] A factory was built for this purpose at St. Ives and the firm, which later traded as English Chicory Ltd., continued to dry and roast chicory until the close of the 1979-1980 'campaign', when competition from abroad brought the use of home-grown roots to an end.[134] Only as a salad crop does chicory still command an

128. Horner, *op.cit.*, p.29.
129. B.P.P. 1904 (Cd.2169), xvi, p.377 ff.
130. The drying kilns off Layerthorpe were in use in 1902 (*Yorkshire Gazette,* 19 April 1902) and are recorded in the York Register of Workshops until 1909 (M.O.H. *Report,* City of York, 1909, p.105). They appear in the *Register of Voters* until 1910-1911. In 1915 Henshaw, *op.cit.*, p.134, noted that the only drying kilns still at work in the country were in East Anglia. The York kilns had been demolished by the late 1920s (O.S. 25″ to 1 mile, clxxiv (7), revised to 1929; York City Archives, Box 23B, Health Department Records, Layerthorpe Clearance Area, No. 2). Rooms above nos. 10 and 10½ Layerthorpe were in use in connection with the manufacture of chicory in 1920 (York City Archives, House Inspection Records, Box 25, Layerthorpe District). In March 1985, the last remaining house on the Layerthorpe frontage of the site was empty and awaiting demolition.
131. The history of chicory roasting in York after 1914 has proved elusive, not least because of the destruction in 1970 of the files of Thomas Smith & Son (York) Ltd. (Card index of company files, Companies Registration Office, London). Frank Noel Smith, one of the numerous sons of Thomas, was in possession of the works in Lower Orchard Street in 1919 and retained an interest in the older site across the Foss in 1920 (Cundall Boxes, Munby and Scott MSS, uncalendared, North Yorkhire County Record Office, Northallerton; note 130 above). The company remained in the city until *c.* 1950 when the name of Thomas Smith & Son disappears from directories. In its later days there may have been a business connection with the agricultural firm run by Lancelot J. Foster, the son of Lancelot Foster, of York (*Yorkshire Evening Press,* 7 February, 30 December 1964 and trade directories). Mrs. Edna King very kindly helped me with information on this subject, though I must absolve her from any responsibility for what appears here.
132. I owe a considerable debt of gratitude to Mr. S. P. L. White of E. C. Ltd., (formerly English Chicory Ltd.), and to Miss L. White, for giving me considerably more information about the recent history of chicory in East Anglia than it has proved possible to use in this article. Aspects of the revival of the industry in eastern England will be found in W. S. Mansfield and D. Boyes, 'A Record of 12 years Development on a 1500 Acre Farm', *Jnl. Min. of Ag.* xxix no. 1 (1922), p.10 ff; W. S. Mansfield, 'Notable Farming Enterprises: the farms of Messrs. Chivers & Sons, Ltd., Histon, Cambs'., *J.R.A.S.E.,* 92 (1931), p.148; A. H. Hoare, *op. cit,* p.333 ff.
133. Hoare, *op.cit.*, p.334. According to Mr. White the St. Ives factory was begun *c* 1928. There was a similar factory at Lakenheath in Suffolk.
134. *Ex. Inf.* Mr. S. P. L. White.

important place on some agricultural holdings in this country.[135] For those who prefer a mixture of coffee and chicory, the product is readily available, attractively presented, clearly labelled and altogether above reproach. But like its early nineteenth-century equivalent, the chicory in the mixture is likely to have originated on the European mainland.[136]

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many individuals have assisted in the preparation of this paper. In addition to those mentioned in the footnotes, I would like to record my thanks to the County Archivists of Cambridge, Chester, Essex, Northampton, Kent, Surrey and North Yorkshire who either answered my queries or sent me copies of documents; to the staffs of the York City Archives Office, and of the Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, who produced large quantitites of material at a busy time, and to the Secretary General and Deputy Secretary of the Yorkshire Agricultural Society, for allowing me to consult material at the Society's offices in Harrogate. Mr. T. Phillips, the Environmental Health Officer of the City of York, kindly allowed me to inspect photographs in his custody and provided the photograph of Chicory Yard reproduced in the paper. Dr. K. J. Allison helped to obtain Plate 3. The Divisional Officer, Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food, Norwich, and the Senior Horticultural Adviser, Huntingdon, answered questions about chicory in their respective districts. Mrs. K. Lethem and Mr. R. F. Carr were helpful on matters connected with Osbaldwick and Dunnington, respectively. The Rev. S. Stanley also helped with Dunnington. The paper could not have been written without access to the files of newspapers and other material in the libraries of York and Hull or without enlisting the help of the British Library at Boston Spa, where many of the periodicals cited were consulted. The maps were drawn by Mr. K. Scurr, of the Department of Geography, University of Hull, and were photographed for reproduction by Mr. B. Fisher of the same Department.

135. The firm of Chicory Crops Ltd., for example, has as its principal activity 'the growing of chicory for sale to retail outlets' (File 1003444, Companies Registration Office, London).

136. The later history of adulteration by chicory lies beyond the scope of this paper. The practice was still common at the end of the nineteenth century, but matters improved considerably after 1900. A summary of the relevant legislation will be found in I. Paulus, *The Search for Pure Food* (London, 1974), pp. 104-110, 137-9. See also B.P.P., 1894 (C. 253) xii. Evidence of H. Preston-Thomas and of R. Bannister.

THE BOMBING OF YORKSHIRE 1939-45

By DENNIS UPTON

Prelude

Fear of bombing in the years prior to the outbreak of the Second World War was widespread and was deepened by much public pronouncement on the subject. A few examples will illustrate the prevailing sense of dread. The military expert, Captain Liddell Hart, wrote in 1925: ' . . . Imagine for a moment London, Manchester, Birmingham, and half a dozen other great centres simultaneously attacked, the business localities and Fleet Street wrecked, Whitehall a heap of ruins, the slum districts maddened into the impulse to break loose and maraud, the railways cut, factories destroyed. Would not the general will to resist vanish . . .'[1]. George Bernard Shaw, widely regarded as a pundit of the age, reflected on ' . . . cities where millions of inhabitants are dependent for light, heat, water and food on central mechanized organs like great steel hearts and arteries that can be smashed in half an hour by a boy in a bomber'.[2] Stanley Baldwin, the former Prime Minister, articulated the worst fears of the public in a House of Commons debate on 10th November 1932 when he said: 'I think it is well for the man in the street to realize that there is no power on earth that can protect him from being bombed. Whatever people may tell him, the bomber will always get through'.

Then appalling estimates of anticipated casualty figures were produced, based on the worst air raid incidents of the First World War. These alarming figures, meant for the eyes of the Air Staff only, filtered through to the public. Perhaps a brief reference to the German raids of 1915-18 would be appropriate at this stage. They had been widespread geographically but limited in scope. However, they had caused great alarm. The Germans had begun the campaign against Britain with Zeppelin airship raids and had reinforced them later with aircraft attacks, restricted to London and the extreme south-east of England, because of the limited range of the Gotha and Giant aircraft.

Yorkshire was raided by Zeppelins on sixteen occasions: bombs fell on thirty-one localities and 110 civilians were killed. The most destructive raids were on Hull, where 52 people were killed in eight raids (totals only exceeded by London), on Sheffield with 29 dead, on Goole with 16 dead, and on York, where 10 people died in three raids. The first raid on Hull in June 1915 had resulted in serious riots and workers who lived in the dock areas regularly decamped to the surrounding countryside. Bombs also fell on or near Middlesbrough, Redcar (2 killed), Skinningrove (near Loftus, raided five times), Scarborough, Beverley, Driffield, Pocklington (1 killed), Leeds, Harrogate, Wakefield, Pontefract, Barnsley and Rotherham.[3] Airfields — in reality grass landing strips — were established and searchlights and gun batteries were positioned near the larger cities. Two airships were brought down over the county, at Bolton upon Dearne and at the mouth of the Tees. The raids had ceased by the winter of 1917.[4]

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1. B. Liddell Hart, *Paris, or the future of War* (London 1925), p.47.
2. G. B. Shaw, *Adventures of the Black Girl in Search of God and some Lesser Tales*. (London 1934), p.8.
3. *The Times History of the War* (London 1914-19), Vol. 8, p. 177; Vol. 10, p. 184; Vol. 19, pp. 254, 257, 259. *Yorkshire Post* archives: editions in Dec. 1918 and Jan. 1919.

Mention should also be made of the other form of attack on the civilian population of Yorkshire and County Durham during the First World War. Units of the German High Seas Fleet bombarded Scarborough, Whitby and Hartlepool on the morning of 16th December 1914. In a raid of great daring, five German battle cruisers stood broadside off the coast and pounded the three towns, killing 166 people and inflicting widespread damage. The attack on Scarborough by the *Derflinger* and *Von der Tann* lasted for twenty minutes but in that time some 500 shells were fired into the town: 19 were killed and 80 were injured. Whitby was more fortunate; most of the 200 shells aimed at the town overshot it but there was damage to the Abbey and to thirty other buildings and one man was killed at the Coastguard station.[5]

The alarm created by these attacks by air and by sea on the civilian population was felt throughout the county and the grim details, magnified with the passage of time, were recalled as the threat of a second great European war grew. Other developments increased the anxiety further. It was widely believed that poison gas attacks would be launched on the large centres of population. There were horror stories of the aerial bombings of the Spanish Civil War and, when war came in 1939, photographs of Warsaw in flames. Finally, in May 1940, 30,000 people were said to have been killed in the bombing of Rotterdam — in reality a thirty-fold exaggeration — followed by news of great air battles over Dunkirk. The storm was about to break.

The Defences

The growing fear of aerial bombardment had led, in the 1930s, to vigorous efforts to seek ways of lessening the impact of attacks. On the military front the development of radar, which enabled approaching aircraft to be located and plotted, was well advanced. Radar installations were erected in Yorkshire at Staxton Wold and Easington, at Danby Beacon and Flamborough Head. Staxton Wold and Danby Beacon were CH (Chain Home) radar stations, which gave extensive cover at high altitudes over the North Sea approaches. The CHL (Chain Home Low) stations at Flamborough Head and Easington, near Spurn Head, gave shorter cover at low altitudes over both the sea and the land. The four stations thus gave comprehensive protection. The Royal Observer Corps had been established by 1938 to plot enemy aircraft over land.

The Hurricane and, later, the Spitfire fighter aircraft began to reach the RAF squadrons and were to prove lethal to the German bomber formations — in Yorkshire they were based at Catterick, Church Fenton and Leconfield airfields, with Blenheim night fighters at Leeming. One airfield in each sector of fighter airfields was designated a 'sector' fighter station and received the information from the radar stations and from the headquarters of the Observer Corps posts at York and Leeds. The sector stations covering Yorkshire were at Church Fenton, Catterick, Kirton-in-Lindsey (Lincs) and Usworth (Co. Durham). Anti-aircraft guns and searchlights were sited around the Humber, Sheffield, Leeds and Teesside areas with others at certain vital RAF bomber stations. Barrage balloons to prevent low-level bombing were positioned around Sheffield, Hull, Teesside and individual factories[6] (Fig. 1).

To defend the civilian population against the bombers that got through numerous measures were taken: air raid sirens were installed and the Air Raid Precaution (ARP) and Rescue and Salvage services, the Auxiliary Fire Service (AFS), auxiliary Police War

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4. H. A. Jones, *The War in the Air* (London 1931), Vol. 3.
5. *The Times History of the War* (London 1914-19), Vol. 2, pp. 362-96. Cf. also D. Mould, *Remember Scarborough 1914* (Scarborough n.d.).
6. B. Collier, *The Defence of the United Kingdom* (London 1957), pp. 33-4, 54, 62, 79, 98, 104, 135, 137, 153, 192-5, 208, 262, 267, 272, 276, 281, 287, 301, 307-9, 317, 328-9, 437, 440, 443-4, 447-9, 454-5, 474, 479-81, 501-9, 513-16, 520.

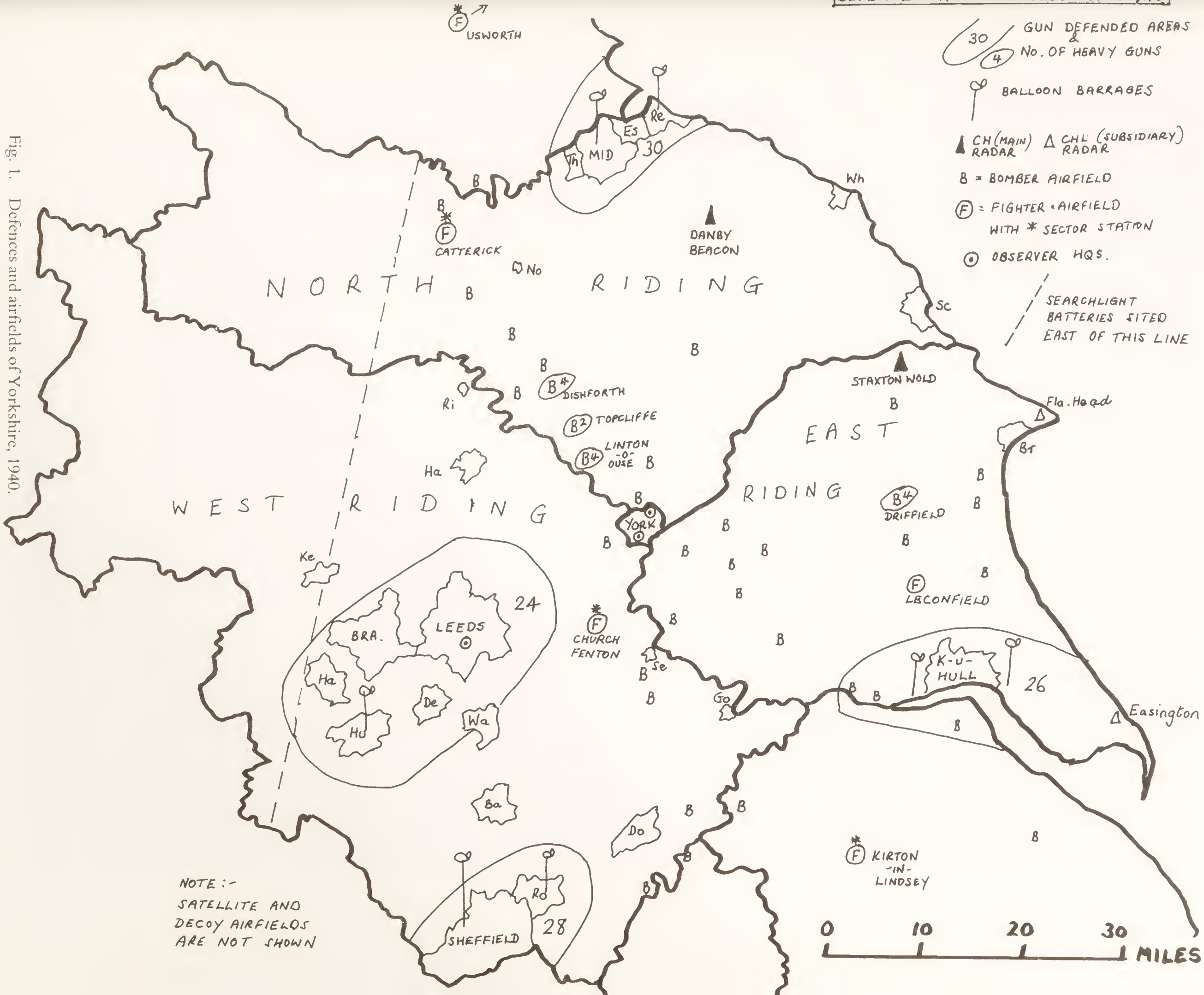

Fig. 1. Defences and airfields of Yorkshire, 1940.

Reserve, the Women's Voluntary Service (WVS), auxiliary medical services and emergency hospitals were created and manned. Gas masks, public and private air raid shelters, black-out restrictions, stirrup pumps, sand bags and emergency water tanks, taping for windows to lessen blast effects and other such items became the normal artifacts of town life. After the raids had begun, compulsory fire-watching was introduced to safeguard factory, office, shop and home.[7]

Large scale decoys and other means of deception were introduced. In the early months of the war many dummy airfields, complete with wooden aircraft, had been built and these were followed in the summer of 1940 by dummy aircraft factories. The devastating raid on Coventry in November 1940 led to the creation of decoy fires near the principal towns and military targets. The first hasty improvisations were in the Midlands and near Sheffield. Later, all the main target areas of the country, including Yorkshire, were covered.

The decoy fires were code-named 'Starfish' and were eventually supplied with combustible material which simulated different kinds of fire. Success was largely dependent on the weather-nights of low cloud, haze or of general murk brought the best results. The number of 'Starfish' sites reached 235 in 1943 (large cities had several sites) but many were closed down because of lack of enemy air activity.

In Yorkshire, Sheffield had the most extensive decoy sites with 'Starfish' (mainly located in nearby Derbyshire). Artificial furnaces, factories and extensive marshalling yards were built and did attract a fair number of bombs but the greatest 'Starfish' successes were recorded at Portsmouth, Derby, Cardiff and Bristol. Smokescreens were also introduced either by stoking up boilers in the industrial areas or from oil burners but these measures did not prove effective and were discontinued.[8]

For people in the large cities the evacuation of children and nursing mothers from the most vulnerable areas was organized but, in the event, the great majority stayed at home. This natural reluctance to leave familiar surroundings is confirmed from the Yorkshire cities and towns which were selected for the government scheme. The most vulnerable districts, i.e. the most densely populated and industrialized parts of Middlesbrough, Hull, Leeds, Bradford, Sheffield and Rotherham, were designated as evacuation areas. Trains and buses were assembled to complete the move to safety during the period from the 1st to 4th September 1939. The reception areas for the evacuees were the rural parts of the three Ridings and adjoining areas of Cumberland, Westmorland, Derbyshire and Lincolnshire. The results were discouraging, as the following figures show. In Middlesbrough 16,700 children were earmarked for evacuation and only 5,171 (31 per cent) reported. Percentages for the other towns were: Hull (37), Leeds (33), Bradford (25), Sheffield (15) and Rotherham (6). The figures for Sheffield and Rotherham were the lowest in the country and were said to be so because the planners insisted that the children should go to Lincolnshire — which in the minds of many parents was even nearer to Hitler (as it was). The absence of enemy air attacks produced a steady drift back to the towns during the winter of 1939/40 but the summer of 1940 saw a second, much larger, wave of evacuees from the target areas and from many coastal towns.[9]

The first nine months of the war, even after the fall of Poland, saw little air activity and the period was dubbed the 'Phoney War' by American journalists. This inactivity in the air was most welcome in every respect — not least because it gave the country a breathing space in which to increase the quantity and quality of the means of defence.

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7. T. H. O'Brien, *Civil Defence* (London 1955).
8. C. Cruikshank, *Deception in World War Two* (Oxford 1979), pp. 8-11.
9. R. H. Titmuss, *Problems of Social Policy* (London 1950), Chs. 3, 7, 8, 10, 18 and 21.

The Air Raids

To see the Yorkshire attacks in context it is necessary to turn for a time to the national picture. As previously mentioned, there had been very little enemy air activity over the mainland of Britain from September 1939 until the fall of France in June 1940. The Germans had limited themselves to attacks on the naval base at Scapa Flow in the Orkneys, to mine-laying and to attacks on coastal shipping. The Humber guns had fired in anger for the first time in November 1939 at a mine-laying aircraft. Bombs had fallen in the Middlesbrough area on the night of 24th May 1940 with some casualties at South Bank.

The defeat of the allied armies on the Continent and the evacuation of British and allied forces from Dunkirk left the country alone and beleaguered. In July, August and September 1940 the Germans endeavoured to destroy the Royal Air Force in massive daylight battles as a prelude to the invasion of Britain. They failed. In June and July the uneven drone of the German night bomber was heard in a series of probing sorties and in August the Germans began the night bombing of industrial towns and military targets on a growing scale. The bombing was often haphazard and indiscriminate — night navigation was then fairly primitive and the bombers flew over a 'blacked-out' country. Accurate bombing was usually only achieved on nights of bright moonlight.

However, contrary to general opinion at the time, the German aircrews were equipped with maps on which their targets were clearly shown. The German Air Force had maps of every sizeable town in the land (acquired Ordnance Survey maps) and had duly outlined the targets, e.g. factories, power stations, docks, railway sidings, military establishments etc. Hospitals were also marked, presumably as places to be spared. The February 1941 edition of the German forces' magazine *Signal* featured a target map of Great Britain. In Yorkshire the targets shown were the iron and steel and chemical industries of Teesside; docks, naval establishments and flour mills at Hull; aircraft plants and engineering works in Leeds, Bradford, Huddersfield and Sheffield; major military centres at Catterick and York; and a number of airfields. That the Germans failed to do serious damage to most of these targets was largely due to their lack of a heavy bomber force and to the ingenuity of British scientists. The British ground and air defences did not begin to take heavy toll of the night raiders until April and May 1941.

The aircraft used in the raids on Yorkshire were the Junkers 88, a reasonably good all-purpose plane, and the Heinkel 111 and Dornier 17 bombers. All carried relatively small bomb loads. The Messerschmitt 110 was used in an escorting role but was no match for the RAF fighters. The excellent German fighters, the Messerschmitt 109 and Focke-Wulf 190, did not have the range to reach Yorkshire. Additionally, the enemy aids to navigation in the winter of 1940/41 were rendered ineffective by British counter-measures. (Incidentally, improved aircraft and systems were developed by the Germans in 1943/44 but they came too late. By then the Luftwaffe was on the defensive and the increased efficiency of the British defences made the few German incursions over Britain in that period costly and largely ineffective.)[10]

A brief description of the German Air Force (Luftwaffe) navigational aids and the British counter-measures would be appropriate at this point. The Luftwaffe used three basic systems—"Knickebein" (literally "bent leg" or "dog leg"), X Gerät and Y Gerät (i.e. X and Y apparatus). All were based on radio beams projected from stations in Western Europe with the beams intersecting over the target. The simplest system, the 'Knickebein', had been successfully countered by September 1940. The X Gerät, more complex and requiring specially trained crews similar to the later RAF 'Pathfinder' units, and the Y Gerät, a more complex combination of the other two systems, were rendered largely unreliable by February 1941.

10. D. Wood and D. Dempster, *The Narrow Margin* (London 1967), map, p. 219.

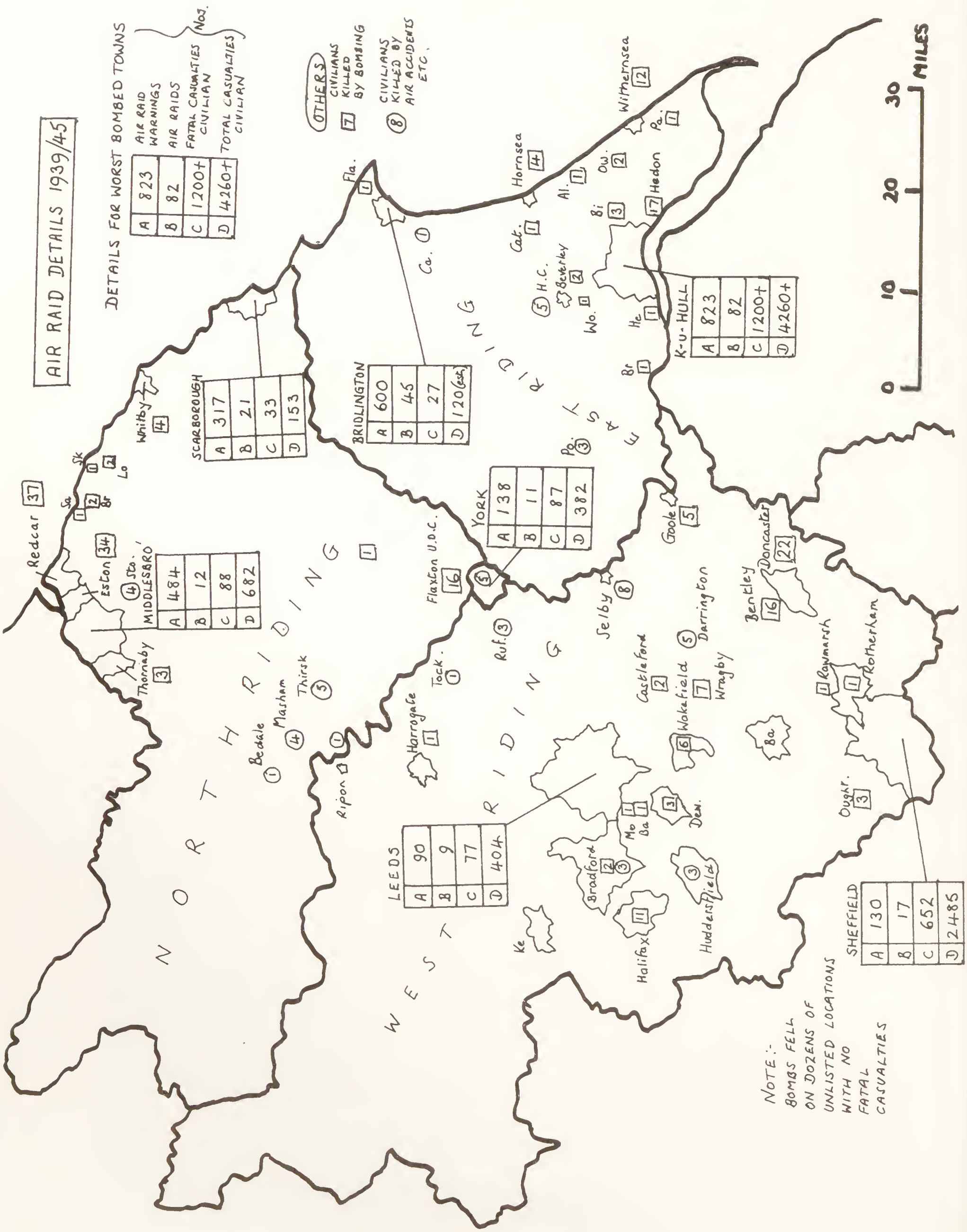

Fig. 2. Air raids on Yorkshire, 1939-45.

It was widely believed at the time that British scientists had succeeded in bending the beams. This was not so. The beams were rendered ineffective by jamming. The German skills had lain in overcoming the problem of earth curvature, the British in detecting the radio frequencies which were variable and frequently changed. Perhaps the best summary of this second, silent, secret Battle of Britain was given by Professor R. V. Jones in a radio interview in 1976. Professor Jones had led the team of scientists at Bletchley Park, Bucks., and referring to the successful countering of the beams said ". . . This had been our only defence; night fighters, until airborne radar was good enough, were powerless; anti-aircraft guns were innaccurate and so we could not stop the bombers. Our only hope was to throw them off target. Well we did not always succeed but did certainly on a fair number of occasions with the result that a good number of people were alive at the end of the war who would not have been and a good deal less vital damage had been done . . ." These modest comments belie the high scientific skills shown by Professor Jones and his Bletchley Park team.[11]

In Yorkshire the air raid sirens sounded the alarm with growing frequency and bombs were dropped on towns and villages throughout the county. Intensive night bombings began on 7th September 1940, at first heavily concentrated on London, and then extending to the regions.

A survey of the bombing of Yorkshire reveals very contrasting fortunes (Fig. 2). On the one hand, Bradford came through with few scars and Leeds escaped really heavy bombardment. On the other hand, Hull earned the grim distinction of being named by the war-time Home Secretary, Herbert Morrison, as the worst-bombed city in the kingdom. The overall picture was of a scattering of bombs along the North Sea coast with some concentration on Teesside, Scarborough and Bridlington; persistent and prolonged bombing of Hull; occasional attacks with bomb and bullet on the airfields in the Vale of York, the Wolds and the Doncaster area, and a sharp, destructive, daylight raid on Driffield Bomber Command airfield. Further inland there was a drizzle of bombs on the industrial areas of the West Riding with two heavy raids on Sheffield and sharp attacks on Leeds and York. Sadly, in addition to aircrew casualties, a number of civilians were killed and injured in towns, villages, isolated houses and farms by crashing RAF aircraft. The bombing of the inland towns had largely ceased by the end of 1942 but Hull continued to be attacked and its last raid was not until March 1945.

Mention should also be made at this point of the most unusual attack of all. The summer of 1944 had seen the flying bomb (V1) onslaught on London and South-east England. This was continued, after the ground launching sites had been overrun, by air-launched V bombs through the winter of 1944/45. In Yorkshire, people in the East and West Ridings were roused by the sirens just before dawn on Christmas Eve 1944. The enemy had launched some fifty flying bombs from aircraft off the coast and thirty were plotted over land. The main target was Manchester and twenty or so bombs passed over the area between Leeds and Sheffield. Seven bombs exploded in the county, including the Halifax, Dewsbury, Sheffield and Hull areas. There were no casualties. Heavy guns were rushed to the Yorkshire coast, but, thankfully, were not needed.[12]

This brief summary gives the general picture. The more detailed information which follows will be on an area basis and contains descriptions of the differing experiences of various communities.

1. *The East Riding*

It is fitting that any survey of the bombing of Yorkshire should start with the East

11. R. V. Jones, *Most Secret War* (London 1978), chapters 11, 16, 17 and 21.
12. D. Richards and H. St. J. Saunders, *Royal Air Force 1939-45, Vol. 3, The Fight is Won* (London 1975), pp. 168-9.

Riding. It was here that the air war started and ended. It was here that the sirens sounded the alarm most often. It was here, in August 1940, that the biggest daylight attack on the county was made. And it was here in the city of Kingston upon Hull that half of Yorkshire's air raid casualties occurred.

(i) *Hull*

The first air raid alert in Hull was sounded in the early hours of the 4th September 1939. The last all clear was not heard until the 20th. March 1945 — five and a half years later. Between those dates the sirens wailed over 800 times; bombs fell on the city over 80 times and over 1200 people were killed. The heaviest bombing was on the blitz nights of 7th/8th and 8th/9th of May 1941. On these two nights some 450 people were killed and hundreds more injured. Other particularly bad nights were those of the 18th March 1941, the 18th July 1941 and the heavy fire-bomb raid on the 24th June 1942. The worst single incident was on the night of the 15th/16th April 1941 when a direct hit on a public shelter in Ellis Street killed 50 people. A few more figures will serve to illustrate the city's ordeal. Over 3,500 houses were demolished and over 80,000 more were damaged — many seriously; 25 schools were destroyed and 85 were seriously damaged. All the main hospitals were hit, as were the Guildhall, the City Hall, the Art Gallery, the Head Post Office and five museums. Theatres and cinemas were wrecked. Factories, flour mills, warehouses, shops, offices, and churches were gutted. The impact of the bombing was widely felt outside the city. Many of the injured were moved to hospitals in other Yorkshire towns. Many of the homeless found accommodation in other parts of the Riding and, under the mutual aid scheme, civil defence reinforcements arrived from other Yorkshire towns to assist the sorely-tried Hull personnel. Over 1500 high explosive bombs; over 120 parachute mines; dozens of oil and anti-personnel bombs and tens of thousands incendiaries fell within the city boundaries. But much of the bomb tonnage meant for Hull did not fall on the city Thousands of explosives and incendiary bombs fell in the docks, in the Humber and Hull rivers, in the North Sea, in Lincolnshire, in the North Riding and all over the East Riding.

Hull's ordeal was great and was recognised. The King and Queen visited the city in August 1941 and the Prime Minister, Winston Churchill, in November of the same year.[13] Two quotations from very different people may help to reflect the spirit and the suffering of the age.

One from Winston Churchill in April 1941 after visiting the bombed cities: ". . . I see the damage done by the enemy attacks; but I also see side by side with the devastation and amid the ruins, quiet, confident, bright and smiling eyes, beaming with a consciousness of being associated with a cause far higher and wider than any human of personal issue. I see the spirit of an unconquerable people . . ."

And one from an elderly Hull air raid warden, recorded by the Mass Observation Unit in August 1941. One night on returning from his post he found ". . . his street was as flat as this 'ere wharfside — there was just my 'ouse like — well part of my 'ouse. My missus was just making me a cup of tea for when I come 'ome. She was in the passage between the kitchen and the wash-'ouse, where it blowed 'er. She was burnt right up to 'er waist. 'Er legs were just two cinders. And 'er face . . . I'd 'ave lost fifteen 'omes if I could 'ave kept my missus . . .".[14] He spoke for many throughout the country.

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13. T. Geraghty, *'A North-East Coast Town'. Ordeal and Triumph: the story of Kingston upon Hull in the 1939-1945 Great War* (Hull 1951).
14. A. Calder, *The People's War* (London 1969), p. 226.

The people of Hull were battered but not beaten. Their story deserves a sizeable book.

(ii) *RAF Driffield, 15th August 1940*

On the 15th August 1940 the German Air Force made its greatest and most widespread efforts in the Battle of Britain. Frustrated repeatedly in the South, the Germans flung 140 bombers and fighter-bombers into the fray from bases in Norway and Denmark. The targets were the Yorkshire bomber airfields of Dishforth near Ripon, Linton-on-Ouse near York and Driffield. Distance precluded fighter escort but the Germans were convinced that Northern England had been stripped of all fighter defence and lay open to attack. They were wrong. The formation aiming for Dishforth and Linton-on-Ouse erred in navigation and arrived far to the north in the vicinity of Tyneside. They were mauled by RAF fighters. In the meantime 50 German fighter-bombers crossed Flamborough Head at 13.05 hrs. making for Driffield; 12 or so broke away and bombed the Bridlington area hitting, by chance, an ammunition dump which erupted. Some 30 bombers roared over Driffield with devastating effect; 169 high explosive bombs fell on the airfield and its surrounds. Four aircraft hangers and other station buildings were severely damaged and the airfield was cratered; 12 Whitley Bombers were destroyed and 13 RAF personnel were killed. The airfield was out of action for four months but was not, in reality, a truly vital target; 13 German aircraft were shot down over Yorkshire and 8 more elsewhere. No RAF fighters were lost. The Germans did not come back in strength in daylight over Yorkshire. More than 70 German aircraft were to be shot down over the county and its coastal waters by the end of the War.[15]

(iii) *Bridlington*

Although it was the second largest town in the East Riding, Bridlington had fewer than 20,000 people in 1939. Its coastal location; its proximity to Hull and its numerous "hit and run" raids in 1940 and 1941 resulted in extensive damage but, almost miraculously, the casualties were moderate. August 1940 was the most eventful month with air battles overhead and day and night raids. The worst raid in terms of damage was on the night of the 18th June 1941 when two parachute mines exploded in Lamplugh Road and St. Anne's Road. But Bridlington's unique wartime distinction lay in the brave feats of Mr. T. H. Alderson, a Rescue Party leader. Mr. Alderson rescued 17 people from the ruins in the July/August raids and was the first person in the country to be awarded the George Cross — the civilian equivalent of the Victoria Cross.

The final bomb count for Bridlington was surprisingly large. No fewer than 245 high explosive bombs, 4 parachute mines, 2 oil bombs and 1400 incendiaries fell on the town. There were 45 raids and 27 people were killed.[16]

(iv) *Other Areas*

Large numbers of bombs fell harmlessly on the rural districts of the Riding but other bombs and crashing aircraft caused damage and casualties. The 12th July 1942 will long be remembered at Withernsea when 12 people were killed; 4 people died in Hornsea in August 1942 and fatal casualties were also reported from Beverley, Woodmansey, Flamborough, Hutton Cranswick, Hessle, Hedon,

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15. B. B. Halpenny, *Action Stations, No. 4: The Military Airfields of Yorkshire* (Cambridge 1982).
16. *Bridlington Free Press*, 4 Nov. and 11 Nov. 1944.

Bilton, Preston, Owstwick, Aldbrough, Winestead, Catfoss and Pocklington. War is the cruellest lottery. In one incident, one bomb jettisoned in pitch darkness and from a great height would hit an isolated farmstead and would kill and maim. Yet, conversely, on the night of 20th/21st October 1943 when 50,000 incendiary bombs (presumably meant for Hull) showered down on the Rudston and Burton Fleming areas and when houses were destroyed and haystacks were fired not one person was hurt.[17]

2. *The North Riding*

Enemy air activity over the North Riding began earlier than in most other parts of Britain and did not end until March 1945. This was the wildest and least populated of the Ridings but contained potential targets of great importance. The Vale of York was the site of a large number of RAF and Royal Canadian Air Force bomber airfields and of the large military establishments of Catterick and Richmond whilst Middlesbrough was the centre of a complex of steel, chemical, shipbuilding and allied engineering industries.

(i) *Middlesbrough*

Fifth largest Yorkshire town and the industrial heart of Teesside, Middlesbrough was defended by guns, searchlights and barrage balloons. The town was raided 12 times — never heavily — and although there were casualties and damage, Middlesbrough, in view of its industrial importance was, perhaps, fortunate. By the end of the bombing, however, over 300 buildings had been destroyed and over 1200 had sustained serious damage. The Transporter Bridge and Town Hall clock tower were hit in a raid in June 1940 and the station was hit and a train wrecked in a spectacular daylight raid in August 1942. In other raids, and in raids on Eston and Redcar, steel works were hit with fatal casualties. The main attacks were in the summer of 1942 but in no raid were German claims of accurate bombing and heavy industrial damage realised.[18]

(ii) *Whitby 3rd February 1940*

Ancient Whitby added another chapter to its long history on the 3rd February 1940. On that day a German Heinkel bomber was located by radar whilst sixty miles out to sea. The plane was intercepted by three Hurricanes and attacked by a young pilot — later to be more widely known as Group Captain Peter Townsend. The Heinkel was hit, one crew member was killed and one seriously injured, and began to lose height. The German pilot made for land, lumbered over the roof tops of Whitby and crashed in a snow-covered field near Sleights. An obelisk marks the spot today and deservedly so. It was the first German aircraft to be brought down on English soil in the Second World War.[19]

(iii) *The Zetland Club, Redcar, 21st October 1941.*

Redcar, perhaps because of its coastal position, was raided several times. The Redcar Iron and Steel Works were hit and nearly twenty people were killed in the factory. The event which is best remembered in the town, however, occurred on the night of the 21st October 1941. The Zetland Club in Coatham Road received a direct hit and eleven people were killed — including the Mayor of Redcar. In

17. Imperial War Graves Commission, *Civilian War Dead* (London 1954), sections on Yorkshire, East, North and West Ridings.
18. W. Lillie, *History of Middlesbrough* (Middlesbrough 1968), pp. 456-7.
19. P. Townsend, *Duel of Eagles* (London 1970), pp. 228-9.

proportion to population, Redcar (and Eston) suffered heavier casualties than Middlesbrough.[20]

(iv) *Scarborough, 18th March 1941*
Scarborough was the most frequently raided of the North Riding towns. The town was bombed over 20 times, 33 people were killed and 57 were seriously injured. Over 3,100 buildings were destroyed or damaged. Most of the casualties and half of the damage were caused on the night of the 18th March 1941. Thousands of incendiaries (believed to have been intended for Hull) were dropped in the rural areas of Filey, Flixton, Folkton and the Carrs and then the bombs began to fall on Scarborough itself. High explosive and incendiary bombs and three parachute mines caused extensive damage and 26 people were killed. [21]

(v) *Other Areas*
The following statistics for the North Riding as a whole may well surprise. Post-war figures revealed that the sirens had sounded the alert 484 times in Middlesbrough; 317 times in Scarborough and 177 times in rural Wensleydale. Bombs were dropped on 418 occasions — in all some 3,000 high explosives, many mines and thousands of incendiaries. People were killed by enemy bombs and crashing aircraft (including RAF) at Middlesbrough, Eston, Redcar, Thornaby, Loftus, Brotton, Saltburn, Skinningrove, Stokesley, Scarborough, Brompton by Sawdon, Thirsk, Whitby, Brafferton, in the Bedale area and in the northern suburbs of York which lay in the county area — over 230 civilians in all.[22]

3. *The West Riding*
In 1939 the West Riding ranked first in area and third in population of the English counties and was in the front rank of the industrial areas. The peace-time industries of coal, power production, iron and steel, locomotives and diesel engines, engineering, machine tools, textiles, chemicals and foodstuffs were reinforced by the manufacture of aircraft, tanks and munitions. Many of these industries, so important to the war effort, were featured on German Air Force target maps. Yet despite two heavy raids on Sheffield, one sharp attack on Leeds and many minor raids the scale of the enemy bombing was less than expected. There may be several reasons for this, two of which could be usefully mentioned here. Firstly, a study of the bombing of Britain shows, that with the exception of Coventry, Birmingham and Sheffield, the heaviest and most sustained bombing was aimed at the seaports and coastal towns. On London, Portsmouth, Southampton, Plymouth, the South Wales ports, Bristol, Merseyside, Manchester, Clydeside, Belfast and, of course, Hull. Secondly, the German Air Force facing Great Britain, consisted of three air fleets *(Luftflotten)*. The largest of these, the No. 2 fleet, was based in south Holland, Belgium and northern France and operated mainly east of a line from Southampton to Manchester. No. 3 fleet, also very large, was based wholly in France and operated largely west of the same line. No. 5 fleet, much smaller in numbers, was based in Norway and Denmark and operated generally over Scotland, North East England and north and east Yorkshire. The West Riding was, therefore, in the wedge formed by the junction of the boundaries of the three air fleets and so

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20. Op. cit. in n.17 — North Riding.
21. *The Scarborough Mercury*, 27 Oct. 1944.
22. 'No. 1. North Region Civil Defence Report' (area covering Teesside and North Riding). Unpublished: photocopy from Gateshead Central Library.

appeared on the periphery of the maps of the respective fleet planners.[23]

The attacks should not be underestimated, however. Bombs fell from Ripon to Sheffield and from the moorland areas in the west to Goole. Few towns or villages in the industrial districts or near airfields escaped the bombs and nearly 1,050 civilians were killed. The sacrifice was recognised by royal visits and drew the following Churchillian tribute in the summer of 1941. ". . . During the last week of November and the beginning of December the weight of the attack shifted to the ports . . . Later on Plymouth, Sheffield, Manchester, Leeds, Glasgow and other munitions centres passed through the fire undaunted. It did not matter where the blow struck, the nation was as sound as the sea is salt." The examples that follow show how varied were the raids and how widely differing were the results.

(i) *Sheffield, December 1940*

Sheffield's ordeal was at its greatest on the nights of the 12th/13th and 15th of December 1940. On the first night it was estimated that 450 high explosive bombs, six parachute mines and many thousands of incendiaries were dropped by 300 enemy aircraft. The result was appalling — especially in the city centre and adjoining densely packed residential areas. The heaviest loss of life in a single incident was at Marples Hotel. The seven-storey building was completely destroyed and some 70 people were killed, although the exact number will never be known. Department stores, office blocks, cinemas, public houses, churches and homes were wrecked and the photographs of streets and tramcars ablaze were amongst the most dramatic of the whole war. The bombing on the 12th/13th lasted for nine gruelling hours and was followed on the night of the 15th by a three-hour raid during which large tonnages of explosive and incendiary bombs fell in the east end of the city; 37,000 people were rendered homeless in the raids; over 700 were killed and many hundreds were seriously injured. Yet the German raids on Sheffield were failures, grievous as they were. They did not break the morale of the citizens and the damage caused to the vital factories and steel mills was minimal.[24]

(ii) *Leeds, 14th March 1941*

Leeds, which was more fortunate than most of the large British cities, endured its worst raid on the night of the 14th/15th March 1941. The raid was described as a "quarter-blitz" by some but was officially described as a "sharp attack". According to German sources some 120 aircraft were sent against Yorkshire targets. The majority hit Leeds but bombs were reported throughout the West Riding and from parts of the East Riding. In Leeds eight factories, the Museum, the stations, the Town hall and the Infirmary were amongst the buildings hit. In this and eight other raids, 77 people were killed and over 300 injured and 496 high explosive and several thousand incendiary bombs fell on the city. The last bombs fell in August 1942 when the Kirkstall Forge factory was hit with fatal casualties.[25]

(iii) *Tragedy at Wragby, September 1940*

Names on the village war memorial at Wragby bear mute witness to the tragedy which occurred on the morning of the 1st September 1940 in the hamlet of Hessle and Hill Top. The area is as rural as it sounds — beautiful Nostell Priory and Park lie to the west on the road to Wakefield. Two high explosive bombs had fallen

23. Op. cit. in n.10, p. 243.
24. J. H. Roycroft, *Sheffield in Flames* (Sheffield 1945), pp. 4–11. Cf. Mary Walton and J. P. Lamb, *Raiders over Sheffield* (Sheffield 1980).
25. *Yorkshire Evening Post,* 18 Dec. 1975, p. 6.

during the previous night but only one had exploded. The presence of the second bomb was not suspected and it exploded whilst local Civil Defence and Home Guard personnel were roping off the crater. Six men were killed instantly and a boy passing by on his bicycle was gravely injured and died later: another grievous example of the random brutality which so often results from air warfare.

(iv) *Daylight Raids: Harrogate and Wakefield, September 1940*
"Hit and Run" raids, without warning and in daylight were often the most damaging and alarming of raids. The raids on Harrogate and Wakefield are noteworthy because both towns are so far inland and so were in areas which did not expect this kind of attack.

The attack on Harrogate was made by a single aircraft, under cover of low cloud, just before 1 p.m. on the 12th September 1940. Three high-explosive bombs were dropped over the town centre but one failed to explode. This latter bomb penetrated the roof of the Hotel Majestic and lodged in room 528. The hotel was evacuated and the bomb defused. The other bombs caused damage and one person was killed. Sections of the Air Ministry, amongst others, had been moved to the hotels of 'safe' Harrogate and an interesting question is posed. Did the Germans know this? And was this raid their response?[26]

Wakefield was raided four times with 6 dead and 26 injured but the daylight raid on the evening of the 16th September 1940 was perhaps the most spectacular. The enemy aircraft made two runs over the city releasing 10 high explosive and 40 incendiary bombs. Clusters of incendiaries fell on a housing estate and around the two main railway stations and the high explosive bombs straddled the city in the area adjoining the main railway line. There were near misses — a cinema, public houses and a dance hall had narrow escapes — but fortune smiled that evening. The damage was not extensive and there was only one serious casualty — a fireman.[27]

(v) *J. B. Priestley, the Bradford Pie Shop and Public Morale.*
In the summer of 1940 the author, J. B. Priestley, was invited to give a series of talks after the 9 p.m. Sunday evening news bulletins. His first 'postscript' was on the 5th June 1940 and they were continued throughout the grim autumn and winter nights of 1940/41. They were broadcast at peak listening time, attracted a vast audience and the calm, warm voice was well received in blacked-out rooms and air raid shelters throughout the land. The popularity of the broadcasts was due to the fact that J. B. Priestley was a rare and happy fusion of writer, humanitarian and natural broadcaster.

In his talk on the 29th September 1940, he described a visit to his native city, Bradford, which had suffered damage but few casualties in a raid at the end of August. Amongst the damaged streets was a pie shop which Priestley remembered from his boyhood and whose main feature was a giant, artificial meat and potato pie which emitted a fine appetising steam. The shop was badly damaged, the pie was intact. Priestley was delighted and so was his audience. As he said that night ". .. the fate of empires is in the balance . . . yet we must burnish the bright little thread of our common humanity that still runs through these iron days and black nights . . . must preserve our humour and homely poetry . . ." His story of the pie that survived the air raid helped the British people to do just that.[28]

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26. *Harrogate Advertiser,* 26 May 1945.
27. City of Wakefield Official Police Report, 17 Sept. 1940 (Wakefield City Archives).
28. E. Sevareid, *All England Listened* (New York 1967),m entry for 29 Sept. 1940.

(vi) *Other Areas*

Nearly all the large towns and a fair number of the smaller towns and villages of the West Riding had their raids, their casualties and their bomb stories. Bradford, which was largely spared by the enemy, suffered its worst casualties when a German bomber, on fire, crashed on houses at Idle on the night of the 5th of May 1941. Four people were killed, including a baby of twelve months. Selby people remember the crashing RAF bomber which claimed 8 lives on the 10th May 1944. Huddersfield lost three people when a RAF Mosquito bomber crashed on Fartown on the 6th July 1944 whilst 11 were killed by a medium-sized bomb on Hanson Lane, Halifax on the 22nd November 1940. Other civilians were killed and injured in Doncaster where there were 8 raids, considerable damage and 22 fatalities and where anti-personnel bombs were dropped in April 1944; in Bentley (16 dead), Goole, Darrington, Oughtibridge, Morley, Batley, Dewsbury, Castleford, Rotherham, Tockwith and Rufforth. Often there was damage without fatalities. Pontefract suffered considerable damage and several people were seriously injured in August 1942 and doors and windows rattled to the sound of bombs in numerous places during those dangerous nights.[29]

But for most of the West Riding the enemy action had ended by the Autumn of 1942.

4. *The City of York — The "Baedeker Raid" April 1942.*

Historic York had been largely spared the attentions of the enemy until the early hours of the 29th April 1942. This raid was one in a series of German attacks on historic English cities, carried out as reprisals for the British bombing of Cologne, Lubeck and Rostock — ancient but industrially important German cities. Exeter, Bath, Norwich, Canterbury and York were chosen and since all were prominently featured in the German guide book of that name, the term "Baedeker raid" was coined.

The raid was short — eighty minutes — but intense. 79 heavy high explosive and several thousand incendiary bombs were unleashed on the city. Most of the bombs and most of the casualties were in the area of the station, the riverside districts and the northern and northwestern suburbs. The station and railway works were hit and the Guildhall and the church of St. Martin le Grand in Coney Street were gutted. Schools, houses and a convent were also wrecked. In the city 79 people were killed, 15 more in the northern suburbs just beyond the city boundary and there were a number of service casualties. The Minster and the greater part of the medieval city were fortunately spared. York had been bombed and bloodied but had come through the test.[30]

5. *The Royal Air Force in Yorkshire*

If Britain in the Second World War was rightly described as a great unsinkable aircraft carrier then Yorkshire provided a large portion of the flight deck. During the war the whole of the Vale of York became one huge landing strip with airfields every few miles. One example will illustrate this fact — within a range of ten nautical miles of the airfield at Linton-on-Ouse were eight other airfields and two large centres of population, York and Harrogate. The danger of collisions and crashes in bad weather and at night can be imagined. This airfield belt extended

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29. Op. cit. in n. 17 — West Riding.
30. L. Kessler, *The Great York Air Raid* (Clapham 1979); L. Kessler and E. Taylor, *The York Blitz 1942* (York 1986).

across the Wolds and to the flat lands around Goole and Doncaster. There were collisions — too many — and some, together with crashes, resulted in civilian deaths and injuries but set against the hundreds of thousands of aircraft movements during the war years they were, in fact, surprisingly few. Two bomber groups were based in the county; No. 4 Group (Royal Air Force) and No. 6 Group (Royal Canadian Air Force). The bomber airfields were themselves targets, particularly for "Intruder" raids. In these raids German planes joined the returning bomber streams and attacked our aircraft over their home airfields or bombed the illuminated airfields themselves. Aircraft were destroyed and damaged and personnel were killed and injured. The last intruder raids were in March 1945. On the night of the 3rd/4th March, 70 German aircraft took part in country-wide attacks. 22 RAF bombers were shot down, often, tragically, when about to complete a safe return. Yorkshire airfields, including Elvington, Topcliffe, Dalton and Croft were strafed and bombed; one German bomber was shot down and killed two civilians at a farm near York.

Farmers and their families; villagers and townspeople in places like York, Harrogate, Driffield, Selby, Doncaster, Ripon and Northallerton were at risk and there were tragedies. Civilian deaths from crashing aircraft were reported from Selby, York, Spaunton, Darrington, Rufforth, Thirsk, Masham, Tockwith, Huddersfield and elsewhere and there was material damage at Harrogate, Pocklington, Sheffield and at other places.[31]

Much has been written — sometimes in critical vein — and more will be written on the subject of Royal Air Force Bomber Command. To many of us, however, especially those of us who were schoolboys at the time, the aircrews were our heroes then and to many of us they are still.

6. *Some Yorkshire Facts and Figures*

A surprising number of national "firsts" were recorded in the county. The first German aircraft shot down over England fell near Whitby in February 1940; Middlesbrough was the first industrial town to be attacked in May 1940 with the first English casualties at South Bank; Catterick was the first airfield to be bombed and the first damage to the country's railways occurred near Northallerton. Hull was the first large city to be attacked in daylight on the 1st July 1940 (and, incidentally, the last to be attacked by piloted aircraft in March 1945) and the first George Cross was awarded to the Bridlington Rescue Party leader, Mr. Thomas Alderson.

The air raid sirens sounded the alarm over 800 times in Hull; 600 times in Bridlington; nearly 500 times in Teesside and 320 times in Scarborough but only 140 times in York; 130 times in Sheffield and under 100 times in Leeds. Hull suffered 82 attacks; Bridlington 45; Scarborough 21; Sheffield 16; Middlesbrough 12, York 11 and Leeds 9.

The final civilian casualties for Yorkshire make grim reading. Some 2,550 were killed or died from their injuries and several thousand more were seriously injured. Including the lightly injured, the total for the county was around 10,000. Of the fatal casualties about half were in Hull (1,205) and 760 died in Sheffield; 103 in York and district; 88 in Middlesbrough and 77 in Leeds. Losses for other towns included 38 for Doncaster and district, 37 in Redcar, 34 in Eston, 33 in Scarborough and 27 in Bridlington. The remaining 156 dead were reported from 45 other localities.

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31. Halpenny, op. cit. in n.15. For airfields, see also G. P . Jones, *Raider. The Halifax and its Flyers* (London 1978), p. 111.

7. *Conclusion*

In retrospect, even the worst air attacks on Yorkshire — those on Hull and Sheffield — seem insignificant when compared with the later Allied bombing of Hamburg and Dresden, let alone Hiroshima and Nagasaki. But the attacks were far from insignificant. They were, in fact, major blows in the first campaign in history to secure the surrender of a country by the heavy, sustained aerial bombardment of its people. In Yorkshire, as elsewhere, many thousands had felt momentary terror on hearing the descending bombs and knew the terrible suspense of waiting for the explosions. Too many people had experienced the numbing grief of personal loss and the pain of injury and disablement. But the response of the British people, under inspiring leadership, was remarkable. They did not break under the strain, nor riot and call for surrender as so many pre-war pundits had prophesied. They were united as never before and, in the end, they triumphed.

8. *Epilogue*

One week after the reprisal raid on York, the Dean, the Very Rev. Milner White, addressed the 3,000 people who attended the memorial service in the Minster. He referred to the existing war memorials commemorating those who had died in the service of their country and then spoke of the need for a new kind of memorial ". . . for these servicemen who died for the children they would never see . . . these, the fathers and mothers who saved and hallowed England's homes under the ruins of their own; these, the children who gave their years and lovely promise that freedom might play in our streets . . ."[32]

The Dean's thoughts that day were of his own city and its people but his words and his sentiments applied to all the victims throughout the land.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my thanks to the staff of the local History sections of the reference libraries in Bradford, Gateshead, Halifax, Kingston upon Hull, Leeds, Middlesbrough and Wakefield, who helped me to obtain source material and references.

32. Kessler, op. cit. in n. 30, p. 61.

GISBOROUGH PRIORY: INITIAL EXCAVATION OF THE PRIORY CHURCH, 1985

By D H Heslop

In or around AD 1119, Robert de Brus, Lord of Skelton, founded a religious house for Augustinian canons at Guisborough in Cleveland (NZ 161616). The original endowment was lavish and the Norman buildings were aggrandized in the early thirteenth century, but disastrous fires in AD 1289 and 1297 and the upheaval of the Scottish Wars appear to have greatly delayed building work.

At the Dissolution, the priory was worth £628 6*s* 8*d* annually, making it the fourth richest monastery in Yorkshire, after York, Fountains and Selby. The buildings were largely demolished in the 1550s as a source for building stone; the few remaining fragments, including the magnificent east wall, were spared when the estate was incorporated into ornamental gardens for a new mansion, now known as Old Gisborough Hall.

In 1867 the owner, Capt. T. Chaloner, R.N., undertook some clearance in the area of the church crossing, while the west end was uncovered in the 1950's. Since then, however, the flooring has deteriorated and so Cleveland County Archaeology Section was asked by English Heritage to undertake a three-year project of excavation and survey in advance of consolidation. In 1985 the excavation concentrated on the northern half of the west end, including the north-west tower and the first four columns of the

Plate 1. The excavation from the east

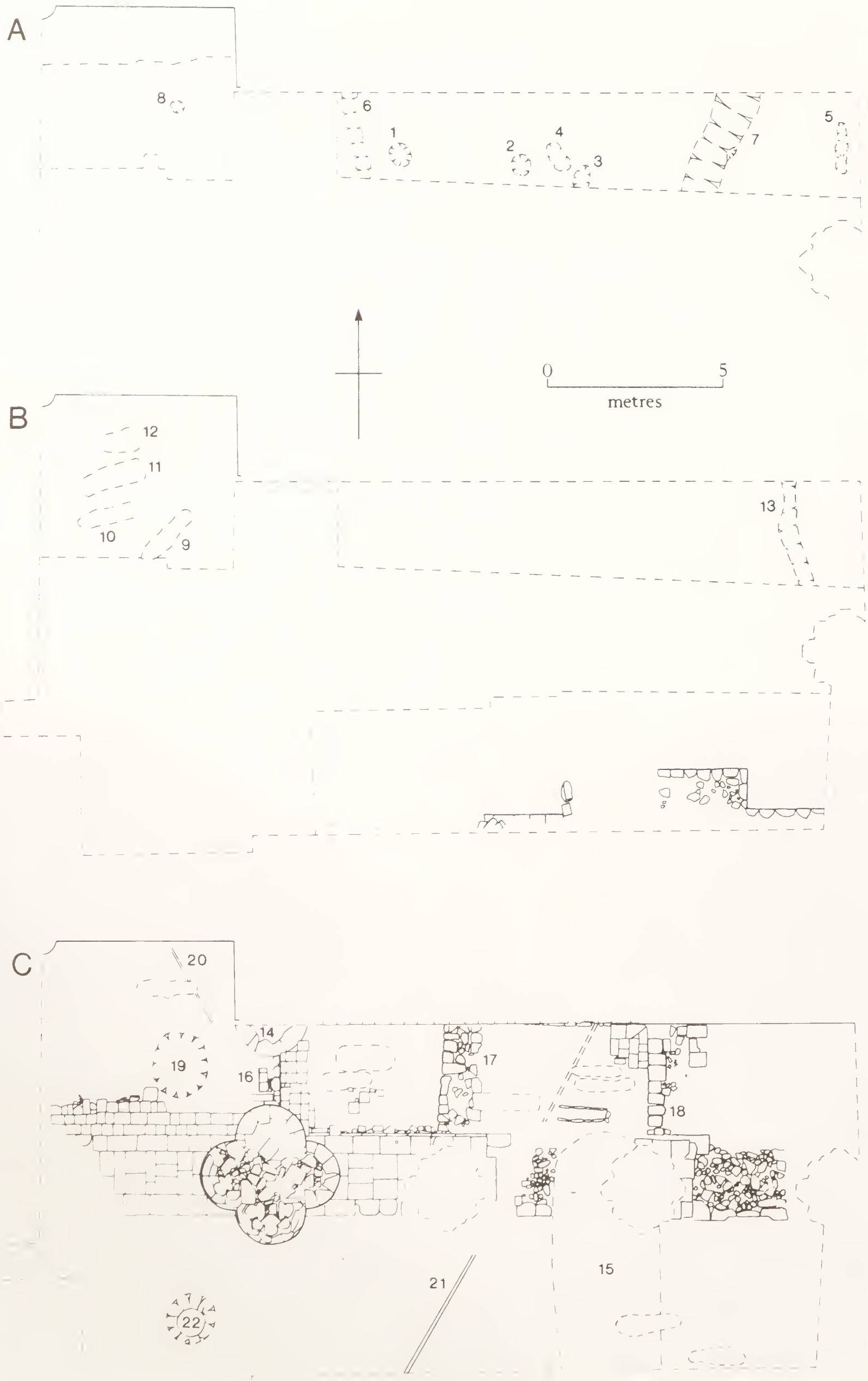

Fig. 1.
Plan of excavation, showing phases.

northern arcade (Pl 1). During ten weeks of excavation, in consultation with the Historic Buildings and Monuments Inspectorate, the northern aisle and tower areas were reduced to subsoil levels, the central aisle was taken to the level of the earliest priory foundations and the northern arcade to the level of the thirteenth-century floor or foundation sills, or, where extant, paved floor. The western four metres of the central aisle were reduced to the top of a stone-lined well, which was emptied of rubble fill but left in place.

The results were impaired by the earlier work, which destroyed important relationships across the nave and at the junction of the northern wall and the north-west tower, and by the presence of the column piers which masked a considerable proportion of the area opened.

The earliest remains (Fig. 1, A) were dated by pottery to the late Saxon or Saxon-Norman period. Within the restricted area excavated to this level (50 sq. m beneath the north aisle and 15 sq. m beneath the north-west tower) a line of three post-holes (Fig. 1,A; 1, 2, and 3), two irregular pits and two or three gullies were found cutting the boulder clay subsoil (Fig. 1,A; 4, 5, 6, 7). A further post-hole (8) was located 6.4 m to the west of post 1, a little to the north of the alignment. These were sealed by an agricultural horizon, 0.4 m thick, of very well mixed dark grey loam containing abraded sherds of Roman, Saxon and early post-Conquest pottery. The upper profile of this layer against the eastern baulk was gently curved, suggesting incipient rig-and-furrow formation. This represents the surface at the time of construction of the Priory in AD 1119, and hence any consideration of the dating of the underlying subsoil features must allow for the development of this horizon.

The earliest stone foundations directly cut the plough-soil, (Fig. 1, B) as did the earliest burials (Fig. 1,B; 9, 10, 11, 12), but the graves were not aligned with the stone building (Pl 2) and the presence of an infant (12) outside any recognizable building casts doubt on

Plate 2. Burials and a possible Saxon posthole beneath the thirteenth century north-west tower

the interpretation of the burials being within the brethren's cemetery (which was often north of the monastic church). These may, however, have belonged to a Norman parish church occupying the position of the present fifteenth-century church of St. Nicholas.

The foundations consisted of a single course of square ashlar blocks forming the north wall of a building below the central and southern aisles of the later church. These were traced for 11.2 m, of which 5.2 m formed a north-facing bay, 1.15 m wide. The position of the southern wall was shown as a robber trench in the section at the point where the ashlar blocks petered out. This building may have been the first stone priory church, *c* AD 1120.

Subsequent activity was connected with building phases which were evident before excavation and dated by architectural detail to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Of the thirteenth-century rebuild, the towered west end was largely understood before excavation with the exception of the massive circular foundation (Fig. 1,C; 14) immediately south of the south aisle which Gilyard-Beer interpreted as a Norman column base. Its northern equivalent was located this year, but was found to sit on a foundation sill which supported the first column of the thirteenth-century arcade. Interestingly, this had been seen by Gilyard-Beer but was not included in his scheme for display.

A continuous sandstone sill formed the foundation for the north arcade. This was 2.2 m wide and had rubble footings supplemented by an extra dressed course below the first, tower, column. This had been cut by an east-west robber trench (15), and had been further disturbed during the next rebuild so that the arcade floor of sandstone paving was only evident at the northern end. The aisles at this time were floored with plaster, probably cementing geometric fixed floor tiles, although none were found *in situ*. During this phase the bays of the north aisle were partitioned into a series of small chantry chapels separated by insubstantial walls (16, 17, 18) from the arcade to the north wall. Poor quality paving was found in the tower and in the first, third and fourth bays. The distribution of burials within this area suggests that the altars were against the north wall.

The rubble foundation layers of the tower were cut by a bell-casting pit (19), 1.60 m in diameter and 0.92 m deep. This contained a large quantity of metallurgical debris and cope. Two water pipes were located, one intact (20), the other robbed (21); these probably dated to this phase.

The arcade paving and first column were scorched by the fire of AD 1289 which necessitated the rebuild of most of the nave and all of the chancel. Some delay in rebuilding, possibly caused by political unrest at the end of the thirteenth century and exacerbated by a second fire in AD 1297, may be deduced from the presence of a well (22) immediately below the fourteenth-century floor; it is unlikely that the church was in use at this time as this stood directly in front of the main west door. A degree of permanency is seen in the quality of the stone-lining but there was very little occupation debris among the rubble backfill. It was 5.2 m deep and 0.80 m in diameter.

Excavation added relatively little to our previous knowledge of the fourteenth-century rebuild, although it highlighted a change in burial practice. Earlier inhumations, as seen in the north aisle, were in individual graves spread across the west end. Subsequent interments were in a single earth-cut vault which was accessed by a single massive sandstone slab, 1.65 m long and 0.95 m wide. The vault contained several burials, but only the latest, in a wooden coffin, was undisturbed.

The site produced a total of nineteen burials and a small but well stratified ceramic assemblage. Of interest was a small bronze plaque decorated with a crowned angel flying, and a fragment of window glass with scratched graffiti reminiscent of masons' marks.

FURTHER INFORMATION ON JAMES RYTHER OF HAREWOOD

By R. M. BUTLER

In volumes 56 and 57 of this Journal Mr. W. J. Craig published transcriptions of letters written between 1587 and 1592 by James Ryther of Harewood to William Cecil, Lord Burghley. His introduction explained how Ryther had died in the Fleet Prison in 1595, heavily indebted to Hugh Hare, a lawyer and moneylender. It now appears from material in the Slingsby of Scriven manuscripts deposited in the Society's archives, and kindly brought to my attention by Mrs. Thomas, that Ryther's troubles had also involved members of that family. He is mentioned in three draft letters written by Sir Henry Slingsby (1560-1634), which all deal with the same events (YAS DD56/M/1/29 and 2/28).

The first letter, dated 18 December 1599, was sent by Slingsby, then at Killinghall near Harrogate, to Margaret Clifford, Countess of Cumberland (1560-1616), known from Mr. Craig's research to have been James Ryther's patron. On the same day another letter was sent 'in haste' to Sir Robert Stapleton of Wighill, explaining the contents of the first and asking for his help in the matter. Slingsby described himself in this as Sir Robert's 'loving cousin and assured friend'. Sir Robert (1548-1606) was called 'cousin' because his widowed mother, Elizabeth (née Mallory), had married Henry Slingsby's uncle Marmaduke; the relationship was to be further strengthened by the marriage, *c.* 1615, of Henry's daughter, Frances, to Robert's son, Brian. Sir Robert is also known to have advised James Ryther's son, Robert, on the sale of his Harewood estate, bought in 1600 by Sir William Wentworth, whose son, Thomas, later the famous first Earl of Strafford, was to marry the Countess of Cumberland's niece, Margaret.

The third letter, dated 1 October 1604, is addressed to 'my Lord President vizt Lord Shefielde Concerninge a complainte maide by Mr Robert Ryther'. The recipient was Edmund, Lord Sheffield, later first Earl of Mulgrave (1564-1646), Lord President of the Council of the North from 1603 to 1619. Ryther had complained to him, apparently in his official capacity, about the same debt mentioned in the earlier letters. Clearly, from these drafts, retained as copies of the letters actually sent, but much corrected and in places hard to decipher, both Slingsby and Ryther each believed that the other owed him a large sum of money.

Others mentioned in the letters may be briefly identified. Sir Henry refers to his father, Sir Francis Slingsby (1522-1600), his wife, Frances Vavasour (d. 1611), and his cousin, Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland (1564-1632). The earl's aunt, Mary, sister of the two preceding earls, had married Sir Francis Slingsby as his second wife. The 'Mr Wentwoorthe' and 'Mr Brian Stapleton' of the first letter are presumably William, the purchaser of Harewood, and Brian (d.1606), described by Archbishop Sandys in a letter to Burleigh as 'a great papist' who 'keepeth company with Sir Robert Stapelton'. He belonged to the elder branch of the Stapleton family settled at Carlton, south of Selby, and is to be distinguished from Sir Robert's son, Brian, who lived at Myton on Swale.

I

Most honourable lady

I have receaved your Ladyship's letter importinge a demande of £200 maide of Mr

Ryther by Mr Burton and Mr Hill in my behalfe, as allso to make my owne demande and deliver my reason whie I am not contented Mr Ralph Haire shoulde deliver the statute in your Ladyship's letter mentioned without anie further payment or satisfacction for the damaged I have susteyned by the meanes of Mr James Ryther deceased.

To the firste, madame, I answeare that neither Mr Burton or Mr Hill had anie commission frome me to demande the some of £200 in consideracon of that Statute, for (besides the monie I have allreadie Receaved), I am dampnefied to a mutche greater valewe then £200, as I hope I shall verie evidentlie make apeare to your Ladyship. And then I do not doubte but your Ladyship out of your accustomed honorable consideracon will thinke it fitt I shall be satisfied accordinge to the nature and proportion of my dampnificacion, whearof, for your ladyship's better satisfaccion, I will make some relacon, not medlinge with the monie dew unto me by obligacon, which hathe and dothe hange so heavie upon me as without verie lardge recompence I am not able to beare it.

Theirfore, madame, to the weights and burthen of the statute; your ladyship shall understande Firste that I was assalted in London by seriantes and, ther escapinge, for feare of arreste after was enforced to lye in secrete corners, not daringe to come abroade to followe my busines. Then, madame, at an assise at Yorke, when I had the most weightie cause of triall that ever I had in my life, I was enforced to be absent for feare of beinge taken in execucon, knowinge the sheriffe was at that instant lardgelie promesed to arreste me. Thirdlie, my father was arrested at London at suche a tyme so muche to his losse and discreditt as Mr Ryther's estate can not make him a iuste amendes, and upon his arreste, the execucon being ordered, was enforced to be in durance towe tearmes, and allmost towe vacacons. What chardge and hinderance that might be, besides what I have not yett opened, I referre to your ladyship.

Fourthlie, to redeeme my father out of prison I did not onlie make a journey my selfe to London, but was enforced to drawe my kinde and honeste freinde and neighbor to accompagnie me to London and their to gage his estate and creditt for my father's enlardgement, and in the prosequution of that busines, as your ladyship knowes, I was my selfe arrested and carried to the Cou[n]ter, where I came not onlie to my greate discreditt, but to my greate hinderance with the Clothiers of Wakefielde and Hallefaxe, with whom before that tyme by reason of my office of Receavershippe I had muche doinges upon billes of exchange, letters and woorde for greate somes of monie. What helpe I gott of Mr Ryther him selfe or out of his livinge by my humble sewte maide to your ladyship in the tyme of my ymprisonment your ladyship best knowes.

And to conclude, madame, besides manie iorneys to my greate chardge and the often troubling of my freindes, which I am in honestie tyed to requite, and the disbursing of soe greate a some of monie out of my poore estate, I was enforced at under valewe to sell my lande, for which I desier to be recompensed or to have my lande releived.

Nothwithstanding all this, because it is not fitt I should be my owne judge what weare sufficient recompense in this case (thoughe in my opinion the restrainte of a free man and the discreditt of an honest man is not valewable), if it pleaseth your ladyship the matter shall be comprimitted to indifferent censuringe. I will and I hope I make soe bolde with my lord of Northumberland as to intreate his lordship for me and your ladyship for Mr Ryther, if it soe stande with your likinge [to] determine this controversie the nexte tearme. For which ende and purpose upon notice frome your ladyship I will wryghte to my lord of Northumberlande and sende a man instructed. Or ells, if it doe not stande with your ladyship's likinge to take this favorable course with me, but will rather proceede in course of lawe againste me, or complayne of me to the Lordes as I heare your Ladyship intendes (soe the defence of my selfe be not offence to your ladyship), if it please their Lordships to trouble them selves, I shall be glad of such honorable judges.

What I have paide in readie monie to Mr Haire I heare him selfe hathe tolde your

ladyship. All I have yett receaved of Mr Ryther's debte is of Mr Wentwoorthe £300 and Mr Brian Stapleton £300.

And soe, leavinge this matter to your ladyship's moste honorable consideracon, whoe I hope upon good informacon will indifferentlie censure this cause, I wishe unto your ladyship muche honor and happenes and ever reste

Your ladyship's in all dewtie and service
to be commanded
H. Sling[sby]

Frome Killinghall this
18 of Dec. 1599

II

To Sir Robert Stapleton knight

Sir,

I perceave by Mr Hill at his home cominge that I have not onlie beene disappointed of monie to my greate preiudice, but allso that my lady of Comberlande is displeased with me and intendes to take some violent course againste me. I shall be exceedinge sorie to encurre that honorable ladie's herde conceite and theirfore I praie you protecte me in that danger, and for anie matter that can be imputed unto me, if I have not iuste and honeste defence for my selfe, lett me suffer and spare not.

I hope I shall never have suche a cause againe but I will endure it with as much patience as I can. For I have suffered ymprisonment, my creditt greatelie tainted, my freinds much troubled, my bodie and minde overtoyled, my purse lefte penneles, my estate decayed, my lande at under valewe solde, and all for Mr Ryther's debte, and yett I am thus requited. God grante all my freindes may ymploie their tyme better then undergoe suche an accon.

I have written to my lady of Cumberlande and theirin doe intreate her ladyship that my lord of Northumberland for me and her ladyship for Mr Ryther maie determyne this controversie and, upon notice from her ladyship that she is pleased with this motion, I will wrighte to my lord of Northumberland and sende upp a man instructed, for I can by noe meanes be at London my selfe the nexte tearme, thoughe my neede of monie be exceedinge greate and [I] am enforced, as I have longe beene, to Tyer my freindes with doinge for me. What extraordinarie chardge belonges to borrowinge of monie more then £10 at £100 I praie you out of your experience consider.

I will be contented to be verie reasonable in my demandes, but sence I have noe more thankes for that I have done and suffered I will looke to be well recompensed, whearin I will not be my owne judge, but will referre my selfe to my lord of Northumberland if it maie take ende by arbitrament or otherwise, to whome soever shall iudiciallie heare yt.

And soe with my verie hartie commendacons to the good ladies, I reste

Your ever lovinge cosen and assured freinde
H. Slingsby

Frome Killinghall in haste
this 18 of Dec. 1599

Endorsed: 18 December 1599. Coppie to my lady of Comberland and to Sir Robert Stapleton. In answeare of a letter from her ladyship concerninge Mr Ryther and Mr Haire's statute. To Sir Robert a declaracon of my wronge susteyned and a requeste to mitigate my lady of Comberland herde conceite, if anie suche be.

III

Right honorable,

I understande Mr Ryther hathe complayned to your Lordship of me, that I have pinshed him in a herde and unconscionable measure. I knowe he hathe no cause and theirfore I am lesse moved wyth it. But I shoulde be verie sorie and ashamed I could iustlie be chardged with anie suche bytinge or unchristian proceedinges.

I knowe your Lordship's sinceritie of judgement to be suche as you will not condempne me unherde, yett leaste their maie some iealouzie remaine in your breste I beseache you give me leave to trouble your Lordship with this shorte relacon in my owne excuse.

My father became bounde for Mr. James Ryther, and for want of payment was arrested and carried to the Counter; to release my father I became bounde with him in a muche greater some, for their was noe payment, not soe muche as interest or chardges, but all sett over to newe bondes. Afterwardes my father comminge to London to make reporte of his service in an honorable ymployment of a tretie betwene England and Scotland, to his greate discreditt and disadvantage was at that tyme arrested and, the some beinge greate, was gladd to remove him selfe to the Fleete, wheare he lay some longe tyme. I came upp to London and broughte one with me of purpose to enter bonde for monie, and as I was travelling about it my selfe I was likewise arrested and carried to the Counter, wheare I lay 20 daies. I had no release from Mr Ryther, but was gladd to procure all the monie my selfe, which I coulde not doe, but that some lande of my wyve's about London gave me creditt and, to have that of my father's I was mor loathe to parte with, my wife was contented to sell it. It restes nowe, my Lorde, to consider what recompence or restitution I have hadd for this. It weare to longe to trouble your Lordship with the circumstance theirof, but in breefe I will be deposed, not reckninge the unseasonable arreste of my father, which I can not valewe, and my owne endurance, and the sellinge of my lande at an undervalewe, I am £300 looser by the bargaine; and that is more then onlie as a neghbor, without the bande of kinred or freindshipp, weare reason for me to beare.

I doe desier to deserve with all men the reputacon of an honest and religious cariage, and my owne conscience beares witnes with me, howsoever the wickedness and malice of this tyme maie interpose against it. But my cheefest desier is (for it weare endless to seeke and follie to thinke to satisfise all) that those that prise and valewe the honest accons of men at a highe rate maie reste without doubte or scruple of me.

Pardon me theirfore, I beseeche your Lordship, if my affectacon to give your Lordship satisfaccon hathe ledd me into a more tedious discourse then good maner or discrecon could otherwise well have suffered, and I shall ever wishe your Lordship muche honor and happenes and allwaies reste

Devoted to doe your Lordship service

1 October. 1604.

I must gratefully acknowledge Sylvia Thomas's assistance in reading more illegible words and in checking my transcription. The spelling, capitalization, paragraphing and most of the punctuation is Slingsby's own, but with some added commas and apostrophes. Contractions, as 'La' for 'Ladyship' and '&' for 'and', have been expanded, while words crossed out in the originals have been omitted in favour of the writer's final thoughts. Permission to publish the transcripts was granted by the Yorkshire Archaeological Society.

A BRASS INSCRIPTION FROM LOWTHORPE, NEAR DRIFFIELD

By W. M. SPENCER

In about 1947 a haulage contractor, Raymond Howe, was asked to clear rubbish from a recently vacated house on the Esplanade, South Cliff, Scarborough. While he was sweeping the floor the brush hit something hard and too heavy to sweep up. It was a piece of brass. Because it did not look like ordinary rubbish, Mr. Howe took it home. For ten years he paid little attention to his find, but when his daughter, Christina, went to the College of Education in Sunderland, she decided to find out more about it. The senior History tutor, Miss M. A. S. Hickmore, identified it immediately as the foot-inscription of a church brass.

The inscription reads (with the contracted words expanded):
Hic iacet Georgius Salvain, armiger, qui obiit xxvi die mensis Januarii anno Domini Millesimo ccccxvii, et Elizabetha, uxor eius, que obiit iiii mensis Octobris anno Domini Millesimo ccccxvi, quorum animabus propicietur Deus. Amen.
Translated, this means: 'Here lies George Salvin, esquire, who died 26 January 1417, and Elizabeth, his wife, who died 4 October 1416, on whose souls may God have mercy. Amen.'

Miss Hickmore was also teaching a class of Diploma Students and asked them if they could assist in finding more about the brass in the hope of returning it to its rightful home. I was among these students. My first reaction was to associate the Salvin family with Croxdale near Durham, but the recorded pedigrees of this branch of the family did not stretch back to 1417. Connections at Newbiggin in Whitby and Easingwold did not relate to any memorial in their vicinities. So the brass was labelled and stored at the tutor's home pending further investigation. this was delayed and even forgotten in the day-to-day business of lecturing and teaching.

In 1979 I retired and, while sorting through papers, found my notes on the unlocated Salvin brass. I confirmed with my former tutor that no progress had been made in the intervening twenty years and decided that with more time available a further attempt might be worthwhile. A chance purchase of Robert Carter's *A Guide to Yorkshire Churches* revealed a note of 'a brass of 1417' at St. Martin's, Lowthorpe. But a memorial to whom? I visited Lowthorpe in 1980, but no one knew the identity of the knight whose brass figure was now fixed on the north wall of the church. However, the vicar suggested that there was a well-stocked local history section at Bridlington library.

After several hours' search there I came to the volumes of the *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*. Volume XVI (1896-7), pp. 510-11, showed the same 'man in armour, c.1420', whom I had seen at Lowthorpe, with the further information that 'the original stone still remaining in the ruined chancel, shows the indents for this figure, a lady, no doubt his wife, two shields and a foot inscription'. My excitement grew. I worked my way along the shelf more hopefully and at least came to the *Y.A.S. Record Series,* and to Vol. XXXIV (1904), containing Roger Dodsworth's 'Church Notes' of 1619-31. Here, headed 'Lowthrop Church, 9 Octobris, 1622' was transcribed the very inscription for which I was seeking, with the footnote 'The brass does not seem to be now in existence'. How glad I was to know otherwise!

After consulting the *Victoria County History of Yorkshire, East Riding* Vol. II (1974), pp.

275-77, I assume that the foot-inscription and the still missing figure of the wife and shields must have been removed from the ruined part of the chancel, which had become redundant when Lowthorpe ceased to be a collegiate church in the sixteenth century. Lack of maintenance had left it open to the skies and to souvenir hunters, and had led to its shortening in 1777. How long the inscription had been away from Lowthorpe and how it reached Scarborough will, I think, be for ever a subject of conjecture, but now it could go home. It was collected from Sunderland and handed over to the Rev. D. S. Hawkins at Burton Agnes in the summer of 1980.

In 1984 I visited Lowthorpe again and was pleased to find that the plate was now fixed to the church wall beneath the portrait of George Salvin. I felt that as a matter of courtesy I should try to find the Howe family to inform them of the happy outcome. They had left their former address in Scarborough at least twenty years ago, but a call for them in the *Scarborough Evening News* of 31 August 1984 produced rapid results and unveiled a remarkable coincidence. that afternoon Mr. and Mrs. Howe had been at Lowrethorpe church attending a funeral. it was the first time they had ever visited it, and during the service Mr. Howe had been gazing with interest at a brass on the other side of the church without realizing that the lower portion was the same that he had rescued some 37 years before. That same evening a friend telephoned their home in Driffield to read to them the newspaper article headlined 'Ancient Brass Plaque Goes Home'. They promptly contacted me and provided the facts contained in the opening paragraph of this note.

I am sorry that the personal pronoun appears so often in this account because my purpose in writing is to pay tribute to the authors and editors of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society's publications of former years, whose wisdom has made possible this pleasurable little item of research and restoration.

A LOST BRASS INSCRIPTION FROM STANWICK CHURCH*

By LAWRENCE BUTLER

The following brass inscription has for many years been kept in the church safe at St. John's Church, Stanwick. It is now proposed to remount it so that the inscription may be permanently displayed. The brass measures 15¼ by 4 inches; it contains four rivet holes for securing the brass to its matrix stone, and the reverse of the brass has a thick covering of pitch.

The inscription reads:

Hic iacet edina quondā ux' Radulphi Pudsay
dñi de Barfforde militis que' obiit Anno dñi
millmo cccc° lxxx v° Cuius aīe ppiciet' d' amē

The brass was recorded by a rubbing now in the Society of Antiquaries Library, but had disappeared during the church restoration in 1868. It had previously been fixed to a stone in the chancel floor.[1] A second brass (of 1591) also became detached at this restoration but was returned to the church by 1925[2]. A third brass is a shield of (defaced) impaling Pudsay which may come from the 1485 memorial; this is now on display in the church, having been loose after the restoration.

The lady commemmorated by this brass is Edina (otherwise spelt Edwina, Ediva, Eoina or Ydonia). She was the eldest of the five daughters of Sir Ralph Eure (or Yvers) by his first wife, a daughter of Thomas Grey of Rotherfield. Ralph Eure died in 1422.[3] Edina married Sir Ralph Pudsay of Barforth-on-Tees and Bolton-by-Bowland. She was his third wife and bore him seven sons and ten daughters. He died 14th April 1468.[4] The Pudsay family held lands in Barforth from 1424 to 1660. Barforth was a chapelry and township in Forcett parish. The chapel, now ruined, does not appear to have had rights of burial.

Bolton-by-Bowland was the main seat of the Pudsay family; they were lords of the manor from 1349 to 1771. Members of the family lie buried in the Pudsay chapel, the south chancel chapel of the parish church. Sir Ralph Pudsay was responsible for the extensive rebuilding of the church in the mid 15th century. His tomb under the arch between the chancel and chapel depicts him, his three wives and their twenty-five children, each child individually named.[5] The font has a small brass inscription on four sides of the octagonal bowl requesting prayers for the souls of Sir Ralph, Edwina his wife

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1. *Y.A.J.* 17 (1903), 262, 319-20.
2. *Y.A.J.* 19 (1907), 73-79.
3. *Visitations of the North*, III (Surtees Soc. 144, 1930), 110.
4. R. P. Littledale, *The Pudsay Deeds* (Y.A.S. Record Series 56, 1916), table facing p. 17, 30-33, 38. There was also a liaison with Elizabeth outside marriage: J. T. Fowler (ed.), *Ripon Chapter Acts* (Surtees Soc. 64, 1874), 91; she must have lived within the Liberty of Ripon.
5. J. W. Winder, *Pudsays and Parsons* (Nelson, 1972), 7-11. T. D. Whitaker, *A History of Craven* (Leeds, 1812), 110-120, esp. 118.

and their son William, rector of the church.[6] It is not known why Ed(w)ina was buried at Stanwick, rather than at Bolton or Forcett. The Eure family held lands at Malton and Ayton in north-east Yorkshire.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

* I am grateful to the Archdeacon of Richmond (the Ven. N. G. L. R. McDermid) for bringing this brass to my attention, and to him and to the Vicar of Stanwick St. John with Aldbrough (Canon T. A. Littleton) for permission to publish it.

6. J. W. Clay (ed.), *Dodsworth's Church Notes* (Y.A.S. Record Series 34, 1904), 34. Dodsworth's information that this font was brought from Forcett appears to be erroneous: William was rector of the church at Bolton by Bowland from 1448 to 1507, but he also held the living of Croft which may be the source of Dodsworth's error.

AN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY PRIVY AT CASTLEY HALL, NORTH YORKSHIRE

By JOHN MILLER

In a range of late eighteenth-century outbuildings, which runs out from the east gable of Castley Hall in Lower Wharfedale, there is a fragment of more carefully finished masonry and a handsome doorcase with a moulded stone architrave which is clearly earlier. A detailed examination showed that it formed part of a rather splendid privy, the structure of which has largely survived under the present higher roof. As it was about to be converted into a kitchen for one of the new flats, and as the survival of such a large privy is comparatively rare, it seems worth a note.

The building, which was originally a detached structure, measures 14 ft. by 17 ft. 6 ins on plan, and is 5 ft 6 ins high to the eaves and 9 ft. 6 ins to the ridge, measured from floor level. It was divided by a timber-framed cross wall into two separate compartments, each with its own door and small round-headed windows. The partition did not reach down to the floor but was carried by a substantial beam at the level of the seats, below which was the drain or pit, 3 ft. 6 ins wide, a further 2 ft. deep below floor level and sloping to an outlet in the north corner. The profile of the seats and the partition can be seen in the surviving plaster and, until the present alterations began, the southern compartment, the grander one, had a barrel vault in plaster, supported by curved ribs fixed to the spars and purlins of the original roof, much of which survived under the present higher roof.

As both ranges of seats were about 10 ft. 3 ins. long, they were probably four-holers, quite a lavish provision of sanitary accommodation for a fairly modest manor house. The drain, which runs northwards from the north-east corner of the building, connects with a smaller drain, presumably coming from the farm buildings to the east, but which has not been fully traced. The front compartment was neatly paved with regular stone flags and has two small recesses at either end of the seat and about 3 ft. 6 ins above floor level, both carefully plastered out. The purlins of the roof, about 6 ins square, are reused from a timber-framed building.

As the masonry details corresponded closely with the masonry of the hall itself, it is a fair assumption that it is of the same date and belongs to the rebuilding and enlargement of Castley Hall by Robert Dyneley, which was completed in 1702. The south compartment of the privy, which must have been rather grand, was obviously for family and faces the garden. The northern compartment, which appears to have been rougher originally, was 'improved' and linked to the house in the extensive alterations of *c.*1800, when the house was divided into two separate dwellings, no doubt to serve the northern one.

MARKENFIELD HALL

Following my short article last year in Vol. 57 the Hon Francis Norton drew my attention to an important fact which had escaped my notice. Henry Johnson's survey of the confiscated Markenfield land in 1570[1], makes it clear that at that time the present

gatehouse had been erected and that the first floor of the east wing had already been subdivided by the insertion of the present second floor. These works can therefore no longer be attributed to Sir Thomas Egerton but must have been executed by one of the later Markenfields. This perhaps accounts for the careful way that the elaborate fourteenth-century mouldings were copied in the new sixteenth-century second-floor windows.

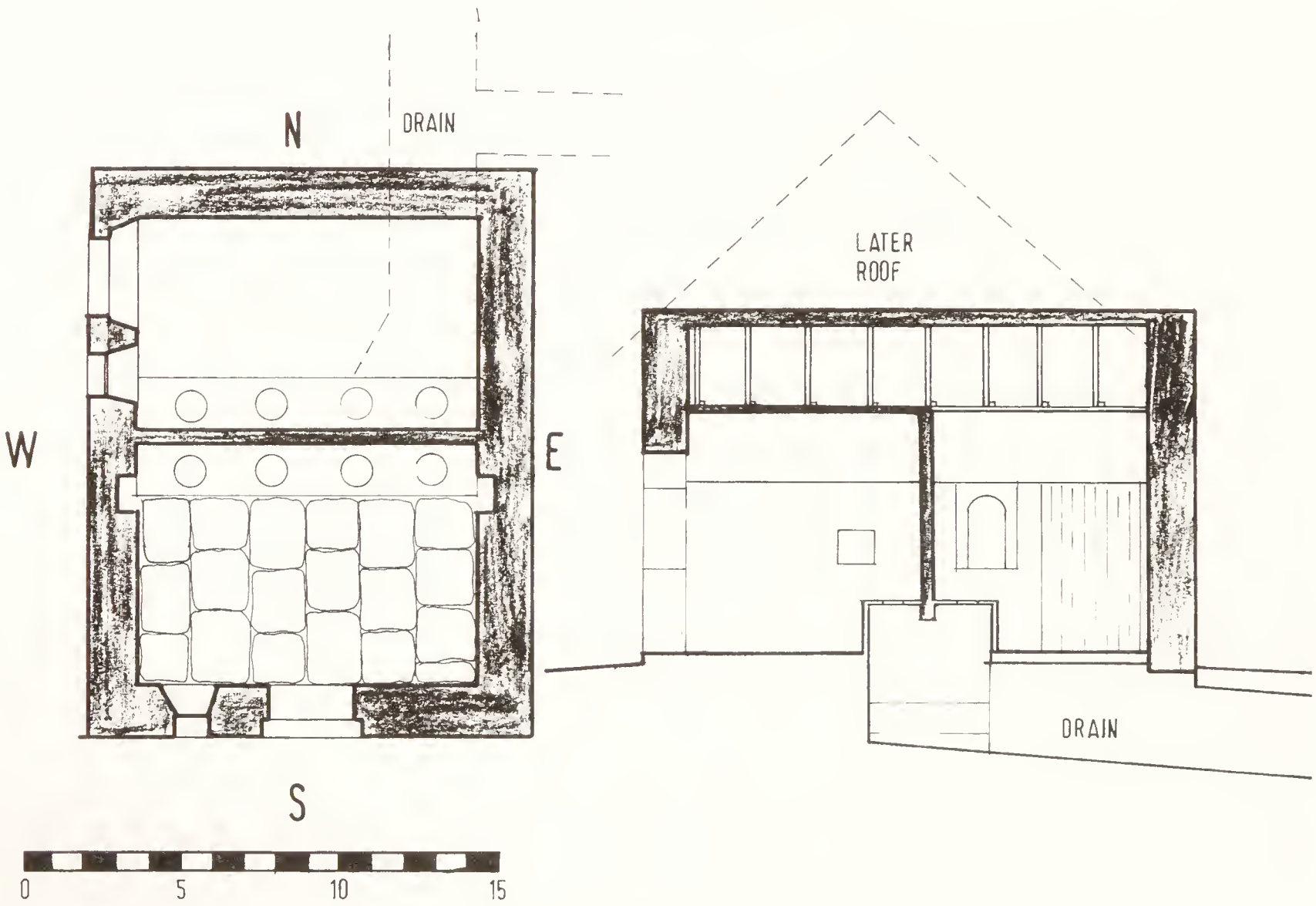

Fig. 1. Castley Hall, privy: plan and section.

1. Quoted by Dom Bede Camm OSB in his "Forgotten Shrines"

EIGHTEENTH – CENTURY ELECTIONEERING A YORKSHIRE EXAMPLE

By JEREMY BLACK

Interesting material on the Yorkshire by-election of 1742 can be found in an hitherto unprinted letter of 1741 in the British Library. It was sent by Mrs Harriet Fox to Catherine Countess of Egmont. Mrs Fox was the wife of George Fox, the Tory candidate for the seat made vacant by the death from venereal disease on 9 August 1741 of the recently elected Charles Howard, Viscount Morpeth. The Yorkshire election in the 1741 general election had seen an unopposed contest, the county representation being gained by Morpeth, an opposition Whig, and Sir Miles Stapylton, a Tory. His death, after three months, led to the destruction of this electoral arrangement, a destruction that is of considerable interest as Yorkshire was the largest constituency in the country, its development watched with great interest elsewhere. Instead of being sought unopposed by another opposition Whig, the seat was contested by George Fox, a Tory, and Cholmley Turner, a ministerial Whig. Fox (*c.* 1696-1773) had been returned as a Tory for the Wiltshire borough of Hindon in 1734, after contesting it unsuccessfully in 1727. He did not stand for Hindon in the general election of 1741 for reasons that are unclear and may relate to the notoriously venal nature of the seat.[1] Fox's position in Yorkshire owed much to his marriage in 1731 to Harriet, the daughter and heir of Robert Benson, a former MP for York. He was said to have obtained £100,000 by his marriage, together with estates, mostly in Yorkshire, worth £7,000 a year. Benson, 'a genial Tory nonentity' in the harsh words of Edward Gregg,[2] was a prominent Yorkshire Tory with a seat, inherited by Harriet, at Bramham Park. An ally of Robert Harley, he had been appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1711 and created first Baron Bingley two years later as one of the peers created in order to ensure the passage of the Peace of Utrecht. The proscription of the Tories under George I and George II ensured that George Fox would be unable to follow his father-in-law's career in national politics — he had to wait until the reign of George III to be created Lord Bingley in 1762 — but he sought to develop a local interest and was to be MP for York from a by-election in July 1742 until 1761.[3]

Turner (1685-1757), a wealthy country gentleman with property in the North Riding, was a Whig who had opposed the Ministry on several occasions, including the Excise Bill, but who was regarded in the early 1740s as a supporter of Walpole. He had sat for Yorkshire from 1727 until 1741, in which year he had refused to stand for the seat, and had not stood for any other. Sir James Lowther had suggested in December 1739 that Turner might not stand for personal reasons,

> 'I had a good deal of talk the other day with Lord Carlisle.[4] He saw me in the House of Lords and came to me. He has certainly been trying people to have Lord Morpeth come in for Yorkshire by

1. R. R. Sedgwick(ed), *The History of Parliament. The House of Commons 1715-1754* (2 vols., London, 1970) I, 347.
2. E. Gregg, *Queen Anne* (London, 1980), p.338.
3. Sedgwick, II, 48.
4. Henry Howard (?1693-1758), 4th Earl of Carlisle from 1738. As MP for Morpeth had opposed the Walpole administration.

> consent and as Sir Rowland Wynn[5] has had enough of it, and Mr. Turner may be quite weary now he has lost his only son, it is not unlikely but he may gett in my Lord Morpeth this once by some compromise'.

The following May Lowther reported from London, '. . . as Sir Hugh Smithson[6] who was talked of to stand for Yorkshire with Sir Miles Stapleton is now provided for by being set up for Middlesex in the room of Sir Francis Child lately dead,[7] there is still more likelyhood Lord Morpeth will be set up for Yorkshire'. Later in the month he added, 'There is nobody to join with Cho Turner for Yorkshire, and it is thought also he cares not for being in the House, and then Sir Miles Stapleton and Lord Morpeth will undoubtedly join for Yorkshire.'[8] When Morpeth died, Turner was induced to submit himself to 'the command of the gentlemen', as expressed by his unanimous adoption at another general Whig county meeting.[9]

This contest led to the sending of the letter printed at the end of this note. It was sent from Bramham Park on 10 October 1741 by Harriet Fox to Lady Egmont. Egmont's son John, an opposition Whig then standing in alliance with the Tory, Charles Edwin, for election as MP for Westminster, had married in 1737 Lady Catherine Cecil, the sister of James Cecil, Sixth Earl of Salisbury (1713-80). It was through the 4th Countess of Salisbury, who was Frances Bennet before her marriage, that the Cecils inherited their Yorkshire property. It consisted of the manors of Salton, Sinnington and Marton, with appurtenances in Salton, Edstone, Brawby and Bourgh, and also the rectory of Salton. Frances was the co-heiress of Simon Bennet, who died in 1682. At first the Cecils enjoyed only a half-share in the Bennet estates, but in 1733 the whole inheritance reverted to them. The Yorkshire property was sold in 1795-6. In seeking to enlist the support of the Cecil interest Mrs Fox mentions Turner's former actions', presumably his support of Walpole. The letter can therefore be seen as a Tory attempt to win support in opposition Whig circles, an attempt to use the cooperation being displayed in Westminster in order to win two Tory seats in Yorkshire. No answer survives.

Fox was unsuccessful. On 21 January 1742 Turner was elected. It is interesting to note that the vote (8005-7049) represented both a higher turnout, and a much greater Tory percentage of the vote than in the previous contested by-election, that won in February 1727 by Turner on a vote of 7683-4264. Turner's vote in 1742 was higher than those he had polled in 1727 and 1734 (7879), suggesting that support for the ministerial Whig candidate was buoyant in Yorkshire less than a fortnight before Walpole had decided that he would have to resign.

Furthermore there is no doubt that the Yorkshire election was fought on party lines. This is clear both from the surviving political correspondence and from surviving electoral propaganda. The *York Courant,* the leading newspaper in the region, illustrates the latter point. The issue of 20 October 1741 carried a letter from J. S. of Leeds attacking Turner for standing and for having voted for ministerial measures. Turner's support for the Convention of the Pardo, the ministry's attempt to settle Anglo-Spanish differences in the winter of 1738-9, was specified, as was his support for the Septennial Act, the Standing Army, and ministerial fiscal demands. A week later anonymous friends of

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5. Turner's ministerial Whig colleague in the 1734 Yorkshire county election who was defeated by Stapylton.
6. Sir Hugh Smithson (1715-86), MP for Middlesex 1740-1750. A Tory, Sheriff of Yorkshire 1738-9 and heir of the Yorkshire landowner, Hugh Smithson. In early 1740 he became engaged to Lady Elizabeth Seymour, the heir of the Duke of Somerset (later created Earl of Northumberland). He would have been a powerful candidate for Yorkshire. He was created Earl Percy and Duke of Northumberland in 1766.
7. Sir Francis Child (*c*1684-1740). MP. Middlesex. Tory.
8. Lowther to his Whitehaven agent John Spedding, 25 Dec 1739, 6, 13 May 1740, Carlisle, Cumbria Record Office, Lonsdale papers, D/Lons/W.
9. C. Collyer, 'The Yorkshire election of 1741', *Proceedings of the Leeds Philosophical Society* 7, (1969) 141.

Turner's writing from York, replied. They claimed that the opposition was using the Convention as 'a cant word, adopted without meaning, and echo'd out amongst the people to inflame and abuse them'.[10] Unlike the following election, that of 1747 when there was no contest, there is no doubt of the strength of party feeling in 1741-2.

The letter is printed as in the original. It is held in the British Library in the Additional Manuscripts series. The reference is volume 47000, folio 116.

'as Mr Fox has the honour to be Nominated a Candidate for this County in the Room of the late Ld Morpeth, I think my self obliged to omit no means that can be of Service to him att the ensuing Election, which is the occasion of the freedom I take in Sending your Ladysp a few lines on Public Affairs; but now to explain my preface — Lord Salisb has a Considerable Estate + Interest in Yorkshire, Mr Fox wrote to him soon after the meeting of the Gentlemen at York, to beg his approbation + concurrence with their Nomination, but haveing Recvd no answer yet from my Lord, believe the Post House, has been unjust to Mr Fox by Delay of the letter, for as my Lord has always espoused the true interest of his Country I flatter my self his Declaration will be in Mr Fox's favour, Preferable to Mr Turner's who had before Ld Morpeth's Election Publickly Declined the

at least 1½ lines missing

[possibly: to judge] by his former actions, of Placemen + Pentioners; as Politicks Madm. is not belonging to my Capacity or Station, I will not trouble you with unnecessaray words, but shall refer itt to your better judgment + consideration that my Lord's Speedy Influence to his Tenants whom to vote for, will be of infinite Service to Mr Fox to have the knowledge off, in this warm Contest he is now engaged in, + as I am well assured you are always ready to serve your friends, shall believe yr Ladysps. sollicitations as you have so near an alliance to his Family will be the most effectual means to procure my Lords Determinations.'

10. *York Courant* 20, 27 Oct. 1741.

THE DAY IN HONOUR OF ERIC GEE

Dr E. A. Gee, FSA, FRHistS, was President of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society from 1969 to 1974 and is one of its Honorary Vice-Presidents. He had retired in 1978 after thirty years' service on the staff of the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England and is well known and admired in Yorkshire and beyond for his knowledge and studies of medieval and later architecture. Several societies or organizations with which he has long been connected, including the YAS, as well as numerous private individuals, made donations to a fund set up to enable a day to be held in his honour.

The event took place at York on 11 October 1986, when some 200 people (including the President and many members of the Society) attended lectures on architectural and historical topics given by former colleagues and friends. Short tours of buildings of interest were also arranged. In the evening there was a buffet supper at St. William's College. A unique commemorative plate of Spode porcelain had been commissioned, painted with Dr Gee's coat of arms, surrounded by the arms or badges of twelve national and local organizations with which he has been associated, one being the YAS. This plate was presented to Dr Gee by the Lord Mayor of York and appreciative speeches were also made by the Dean of York, Mr H. G. Ramm and Dr J. Shannon.

The occasion was felt to be a great success and all those attending were glad that, in spite of recent illness, both Eric, Olive and other members of their family were able to enjoy the occasion.

Eric Gee and the Lord Mayor of York with the commemorative plate.

THE YORKSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGICAL REGISTER: 1986

This is based on fuller reports in *CBA Forum* 1986, edited by P. Abramson and kindly provided by him, with additions from other sources

PREHISTORIC

ALLERSTON, GIVENDALE HEAD (SE 8887) H. C. Mytum of York University Archaeology Department reports that the study of pit alignments was continued. In that running from SE 890875 to 887870 the pits were far from uniform but did not vary as greatly in size and shape as those in the N.–S. alignment to the E., previously surveyed. Two gaps appear to be original features; to the SW. the alignment ends abruptly and a steep-sided valley was used as a boundary.

AUCKLEY, HAYFIELDS FARM (SK 64209961) C. Hippisley-Cox, Museums Assistant at Doncaster, reports the find of a greenstone axe 11.5 cm long, which has been given Doncaster Museum acquisition no. 190.85.

BELLERBY (SE 124927) D. S. Hall reports the discovery of a polished stone axe from Langdale, 11.7 cm by 7.5 cm by 3.3 cm, retained by the finder.

BOLTON-ON-DEARNE (SE 45840202) C. Hippisley-Cox reports the discovery of a bronze looped palstave in collapsed material on the S. bank of the River Dearne. It weighs 395 gm and is 15.8 cm long and 6.4 cm wide at the cutting edge. It was recorded at Doncaster Museum and returned to the finder.

BRANSDALE (SE 623976) D. S. Spratt reports the finding of a saddle quern of local Jurassic sandstone in a field wall near Hodge Beck.

BUCKDEN, MAZE PASTURE (SD 870797) D. S. Hall reports the discovery in 1977 of an Early Bronze Age flat axe in a drain made prior to afforestation. The axe, 11.8 cm by 6.2 cm by 0.6 cm, was retained by the finder, Mr. K. Sadler of Thoralby, Leyburn.

BURTON CUM WALDEN, WASSET FELL (SD 999838) D. S. Hall reports a small ? Iron Age settlement of two enclosures and a stone hut circle set in a S.-facing hollow at 1450 ft. OD.

CLAPHAM CUM NEWBY, GAPING GILL (SD 75137271) D. Viner of Corinium Museum reports a polished stone axe, found by Mr. M. Taylor close by the mouth of Gaping Gill and identified at the Corinium Museum. Its condition is good with damage in antiquity only to the butt (Fig. 1). The axe has been ground all over with two slightly deeper scars still visible; it has faceted sides with a narrow butt and thin profile. In Manby's classification this is form B2A (T. G. Manby, 'Flint and Stone Axes in Yorkshire' in T. H. McK. Clough and W. A. Cummins (eds.), *Stone Axe Studies,* CBA Research Report 23 (1979)).

The axe weighs 140 gm. A slight recent chip shows a greyish core. On the basis of this macroscopic examination it is probably attributable to Group VI. Mr. Taylor has now donated the axe to the Yorkshire Museum (acc. no. 1986/28).

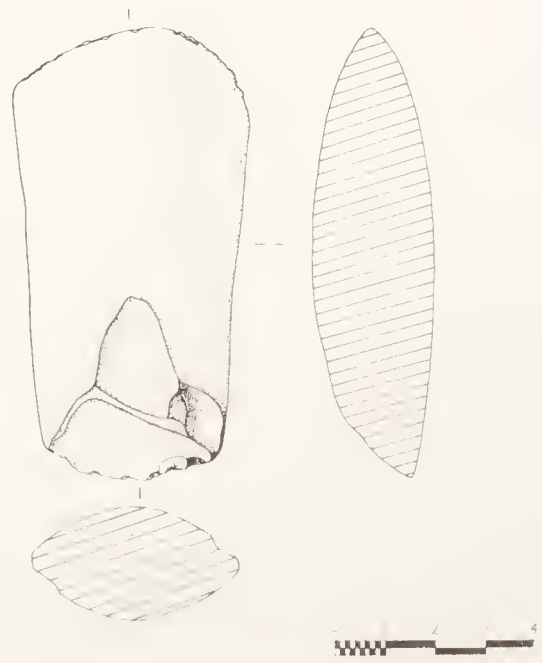

Fig. 1. Stone axe from Gaping Ghyll.

CRAYKE Richard Kilburn reports the finding of a polished stone axe, probably of Langdale manufacture, which has been presented to the Malton Museum.

DANBY, DANBY RIGG (NZ 70057006) Anthony Harding reports on excavations funded by Durham University, the Society of Antiquaries of London and the North Yorks Moors National Parks Committee. A ring cairn at NZ 70800658 had been excavated by J. C. Atkinson in 1863 and his observations were confirmed. The large standing stone, 2.75 m high, including the part set in a 1 m deep hole, seems to pre-date the cairn. A section was cut through the Triple Dykes (NZ 70460549): the central bank was *c.* 3.5 m wide and 0.85 m high, incorporating large boulders, and the S. ditch was the larger, 4.0 m wide, 1.6-1.7 m deep, and V-shaped. Both ditches contained layers of black earth from which C14 dates may be obtained, below tumbled stone and wash layers. Excavation of Monument 890, apparently a ring of stones, revealed more stones in the interior and no indication that they had formed part of a structure. Cairn 91 was sectioned to obtain more environmental samples. In 1987 it is hoped to complete excavation of the ring cairn and to continue survey on adjacent sites along the sides of the Esk valley.

FERRY FRYSTON Tony Sumpter reports the finding of a Late Bronze Age hoard, comprising three vertical-ribbed socketed axes, a small vestigial-barbed spearhead broken in two, and an annular ring 84 mm in diameter. They lay in close proximity at a depth of 0.3 m. Excavations were carried out by the West Yorkshire Archaeology Service: there was no evidence for the limits of the burial pit, probably just large enough to contain the hoard.

GARTON, GARTON STATION (SE 980577) An excavation directed by I. M. Stead for the British Museum discovered a chariot burial in a grave 4.0 m by 2.4 m and 1.4 m deep, orientated N.-S. at the centre of a barrow 11-12 m square. The wheels had been stacked leaning against the side of the grave, their decayed wooden naves and spokes replaced in clay. The pole and axle had been buried as a single T-shaped frame, 3.0 m long and 2.2 m across. The flexed corpse had been buried first and the framework of the vehicle lowered on top of it. The line of the yoke placed behind the body could be distinguished by a row of five terrets, the central one being finely decorated in relief. Alongside was a pair of linch pins and two horse bits; animal bones lay in front of and behind the shoulders of the body. A box shape, 1.7 m by 1.0 m, traced by darker filling above the skeleton, may be the body of the chariot, upturned to cover it.

Five smaller square barrows each had an unaccompanied N.-S. crouched burial in a large and deep grave. Four similar-sized barrows within ring ditches, two having causeways, had unusual features. The burials of males, one with a sword, another with a shield, all had iron spear or javelin heads thrust or thrown into the grave, 14 in that with a sword, and 11, 7 and 3 in the others. Comparable finds have been made at Burton Fleming, Wetwang Slack and Grimthorpe. An enclosure 16-18 m square with an entrance to the W. is unique. No Iron Age grave was found within it but its centre was occupied by two rows of Anglian burials. Three other square barrows to the NE, also had a W. entrance and one had an extended E.-W. inhumation with a spearhead, but with an Anglian shield handle near the left hand. *See also Current Archaeology* 9 (1987), 234-7 and Anglo-Scandinavian Section.

HAWES, CAVY CLINTS (SD 879876) D. S. Hall reports a small hut circle on a N.-facing natural platform halfway up a limestone scree slope at 1825 ft. OD.

HUTTON BUSCEL, COOMB HILL (SE 954894) H. C. Mytum of York University reports that detailed contour surveys of the square barrows and a hachured plan of the probably contemporary enclosure were made by students under his direction. The barrows, though partially excavated by central pits, presumably of the 19th century, are still in fine condition. The only other square barrow in the area, at Loft Howe to the S. (SE 950861), seemingly an outliner of this cemetery, was also contour surveyed.

NORTH CAVE (SE 878331) John Dent of the Humberside Archaeology Unit directed an excavation on a site revealed by the extension of a sand and gravel pit. Neolithic finds were a flint arrowhead, scraper, chisel and axe. An Iron Age settlement of roundhouses included pits with waterlogged filling, preserving wooden objects, mammal bones, snail shells, beetles, seeds and pollen. One pit had wooden steps for access and another was lined with basketwork of willow wands; both were probably shallow wells. Extensive scatters of slag were apparently the by-product of an iron smelting furnace or furnaces of which the bowl-shaped bases survived, in one case covered by the collapsed clay superstructure walls. One deposit of over a tonne of slag had been used to fill a disused pit. *See also* Roman Section.

SEAMER/FLIXTON (TA 0482-0380) T. Schadla-Hall reports that work continued on examining the buried post-glacial landscape in the Vale of Pickering, where known sites were suffering from continued drainage but the buried environment was more complicated and potentially far richer than previously recognised. Further work on Site K proved that the limits of the upper palaeolithic occupation had been established. Four sites

previously identified by J. W. Moore were tested: much flint and some bones, including horse jawbones, was found at Flixton 1. Other small sections dug on the S. side of the Vale located two new early mesolithic sites, one 300 m S. of Star Carr producing nearly 1000 pieces of worked flint and some bone. The Vale of Pickering Research Trust has been set up to raise funds for further investigation.

SPROTBROUGH, CUSWORTH PARK (SE 545045) C. Hippisley-Cox reports that the butt of an axe made of greenish tuff, attributed to Group VI (Langdale) was found. It has faceted side and facet over the butt. It was retained at Doncaster Museum.

SWALEDALE On the moors above Reeth and Healaugh and W. of Grinton are field sytems, walled enclosures and small cairns. Tim Laurie and Andrew Fleming have now discovered a dense distribution of settlement sites on lower ground, mainly consisting of house platforms within small ovoid or rectilinear enclosures. These occur at 200-300m intervals among the farms, hay barns and walled fields in present-day use. Field banks, often with considerable Lynchets, are associated with some sites. Dating within the period from the Bronze Age to Romano-British times is uncertain. Work is continuing.

WELTON, REDCLIFFE (SE 9825) D. Crowther coordinated survey and excavation for Hull City Museums. Gullies, surfaces, ditches and pits were revealed under ploughsoil and hillwash near the rapidly eroding cliff edge. Dating evidence was provided by imported finewares, including *Terra Nigra,* and copper alloy brooches of La Tene, Colchester, Langton Down and dolphin forms. An unstratified Coritanian silver coin was also found. Animal bones show butchery marks. The presence of both earlier flint implements and flakes and of later material suggest that the 1st-century phase at the site may be part of a continuity of settlement from the mid-late Bronze Age onwards.

ROMANO-BRITISH

AUCKLEY (SK 639995) C. Hippisley-Cox reports that a 2nd-century Q-type brooch, inlaid with light-blue enamel, was recorded at Doncaster Museum and returned to the finder, as were the next two items.

BAWTRY (SK 645940) C. Hippisley-Cox reports a late 1st-century brooch with trails of enamel on the expanded box.

DARRINGTON (SE 4920) C. Hippisley-Cox reports a Colchester-type brooch with a cut-out rectangular catchplate.

DONCASTER, FRENCHGATE (SE 574035) John Little reports that the South Yorkshire Archaeology Unit excavated W. of the Roman fort site. Part of the W. defences was located and further W. 2m of Roman and medieval stratigraphy had remained undisturbed. Here a layer of burnt stone and clay containing mid-late 2nd century pottery suggested the presence close by of a short-lived timber building. Below this and further Roman deposits a ditch and bank, possibly of late 1st-century date, suggested an enclosure W. of the fort. Further W. were two ditches sealed by successive cobbled surfaces associated with Roman pottery; these were perhaps linked with three ditches previously found and suggested as the *vicus* defences. The former bank of the River Cheswold showed no signs of interference and an area between it and higher ground had been marsh through the Roman period and most of the medieval period.

GANTON, CAT BABBLETON FARM (TA 00197513) Peter Cardwell of the Landscape Research Centre Ltd., reports rescue excavations of a 65 m length of pit alignment, aligned NE.-SW. The pits, 0.4 m apart, averaged 2.9 m by 2.0 m by 1.1 m deep. Their fills apparently represented silting in the 3rd-4th centuries. A presumably late-Roman ditch, 2.7 m wide and 0.4 m deep, later connected all the pits. A sub-circular gully 8.5 m in diameter with an entrance 3 m wide on the E. was found 15 m N. of the alignment. Pottery was mostly 2nd-4th-century native and grey wares. A samian sherd, an abraded coin, a fragment of glass bangle and a hone were found, as well as bones of cattle, horse and dog.

HOOTON PAGNELL (SE 4807) C. Hippisley-Cox reports that a 1st-century brooch with an open catchplate was recorded at Doncaster Museum and returned to the finder.

NORTH CAVE (SE 878331) John Dent for the Humberside Archaeology Unit excavated a settlement (*see* Prehistoric Section). The site continued in use after the Roman conquest and ditched enclosures grouped along trackways developed. Ploughing had left few traces of Roman buildings other than stone scatters, which may represent a floor or parts of walls subsided into earlier ditch fillings. Pottery, glass and limestone, perhaps quarried for querns, were found. Small enclosures 4 m across probably represent stack stands. A cow was found buried on the site of a demolished roundhouse.

NORTON, NORTON CEMETERY (SE 795710) Richard Kilburn reports that two Huntcliff ware pots were found by the gravedigger and are now displayed at Malton Museum.

SPOFFORTH with STOCKELD (SE 365510) Mrs. Jackson has located and recorded some fifty beehive querns and bases, mostly of local gritstone, within a few miles of Spofforth. Many have accurately bored handle holes, indicating a Roman date.

YORK, PUREY-CUST HOSPITAL (SE 60215226) N. F. Pearson for the York Archaeological Trust carried out limited excavation. Two phases of building may be interpreted as barrack blocks built in timber during the 1st century and replaced in stone in the early 2nd century. The cheek piece of a helmet of 1st-century date was found within the construction levels of the timber phase (for details *see* D. Hooley in *Interim* 11.2 (summer 1986), 39-46).

YORK, BLAKE STREET, (SE 60135205) An exploratory shaft sunk below the floor of the Assembly Rooms uncovered a build-up of material 3-8 m deep. A beam-slot and cobbled surface, perhaps related to the Roman fortress, were sealed by a circular medieval well. The remaining material was a thick layer of clay and rubble supporting the present floor.

YORK, BLAKE STREET (SE 60155200) Disturbed Roman levels were observed below the basement floor of Nos 14-16. Only the earliest levels, including burnt clays and deposited natural clay, remained.

YORK, MICKLEGATE (SE 60115163) Observations during trenching revealed a fragmentary Roman structure at a depth of 3 m.

YORK, BISHOPGATE STREET (SE 603512) Trial excavations by A. Davidson for York Archaeological Trust revealed a Roman ground surface caused by a thick clay make-up layer containing an inhumation burial *in situ,* fragmentary human remains and pottery.

ANGLO-SCANDINAVIAN

GARTON, GARTON STATION (SE 980577) During excavations by I. M. Stead thirty-five Anglian inhumation burials were discovered both at the centre of a large Iron Age square enclosure, in three other Iron Age barrows, and elsewhere. Most were orientated E.-W. and grave goods indicate a 7th-century date. A young child was accompanied by a fine gold pendant with filigree ornament, a silver toilet set, three silver rings and glass beads; a woman was buried with a brooch, pendant, bead and buckle, all of silver. A fine decorated hanging bowl had been missed by grave robbers. Other unusual graves included one with a bronze cauldron and support, and another with an iron ladle and a possible socketed weaving baton. Weapons were found in five graves and tools in two; knives came from eighteen and buckles from twelve graves. Bronze staples and iron fittings indicated wooden boxes or leather bags. Animal bones were found with twelve burials, usually at the feet. These burials were apparently an extension of Mortimer's Garton Gatehouse cemetery 500 m to the E. *See also* Prehistoric Section and *Current Archaeology* 9, 234-7.

HESLERTON D. Powlesland reports that the extensive Anglian settlement will be completely examined over the next five years. Work in 1986 was directed towards cleaning the area: all the structures, both *grubenhauser* and substantial wooden halls, represented respectivley by rectangular or oval patches of dark soil and by post holes, will be excavated in detail next year, together with part of the filled-in stream channel. Work on the associated cemetery has been completed, over 220 burials from *c.*450-650 A.D. having been examined. Study and conservation of the bones and metalwork will take a further two years. *See* full report in *Archaeological Journal* 143 (1986), 53-173.

MALTON Jeffrey Watkin reports that a socketed iron spear-head of probable 9th-10th century date, found in 1982 during the construction of the bypass, has been donated to the Yorkshire Museum.

PONTEFRACT, TANNERS ROW (SE 462223) Tony Wilmott reports that a rescue excavation by the West Yorkshire Archaeology Service and the Pontefract and District Archaeological Society revealed a cemetery of over 96 inhumations and a later church. The earliest burials were dated by C14 to 690±90 and there were three generations of burials before the church. Earlier burials were disturbed by later ones as the cemetery became more crowded. Burials were found with stones around the head or at the shoulders, two were flexed and one contained bronze tweezers as grave goods. Iron nails and coffin fittings, included hinges, handle plates and possibly locks, were recovered. The church, perhaps the predecessor to All Saints as the parish church of

Tanshelf, may have originated as a single cell to which a nave was added. Its foundations were of herring-bone pitched rubble set in puddled clay, with sandstone ashlar quoins at the W. corners of the nave. It is to be conserved in landscaping associated with the road scheme.

RIPON, AILEY HILL (SE 31717114) R. A. Hall for the York Archaeological Trust directed exploratory excavations on this motte-like scheduled monument E. of the cathedral, demonstrating that it is essentially a natural feature, used for some time for an inhumation cemetery. The burials mostly lay E.-W. but two groups on slightly different alignments were recognized. The only associated objects recovered were iron nails and coffin fittings, thought to date within the Anglian or Anglo-Scandinavian periods.

YORK, GLASSWORKS SITE, FISHERGATE (SE 60655115) Excavations were carried out by R. L. Kemp for the York Archaeological Trust. Traces of at least six timber halls were found beside two N.-S. gravel roads some 45 m apart. A major boundary aligned N.-S. subdivided the site. A number of rubbish pits were excavated and their contents sieved. Dating was provided by 8th and 9th-century coins, as well as continental pottery, both suggesting a trading function for the settlement, as do other finds, such as a variety of bone combs. In the S. part of the site the 8th-century domestic occupation deposits were overlain by traces of a small 9th or 10th-century wooden church, with a translated burial to the E. *See also* Medieval Section.

MEDIEVAL

BEVERLEY, BECK VIEW (TA 050393) Peter Armstrong of the Humberside Archaeological Unit reports the excavation of medieval roof tile kilns, discovered after levelling for factory units. The four kilns are of both single and twin flue types, two being made of tile waste, two clay-built. An open-sided timber building resting on padstones may have been a drying shed. Another building with the sill walls and padstones lay between a kiln and the Beverley Beck. Most of the tiles were of the same plain type with a central suspension nib, though some glazed ridge tiles, roof furniture and brick wasters were present. Pottery and a coin of Edward III indicate production into the second half of the 14th century.

BEVERLEY, DOMINICAN FRIARY (TA 03883936) Excavation by the Humberside Unit revealed a second cloister to the N. of that previously known. The different alignment of this part of the complex suggests that it was built as an extension, perhaps in the early 14th century. An arcade of light piers was replaced by a simple brick wall. Of the surrounding buildings, with stone walls on heavy chalk foundations, the N. range probably served as a refectory: it produced remains of stained glass and leading, a series of tile fireplaces and many small bones. To the S. was the foundation for a massive building, whose purpose is still unclear. Below the soil of the cloister garth evidence was recovered of timber buildings, perhaps erected to house the friars while the buildings of the great cloister were under construction. Investigation of these will continue.

BILTON, SYNINGTHWAITE PRIORY (SE 46194870) In observation of trenches by D. A. Brinklow for the York Archaeological Trust four burials were recorded and structural elements of the priory also seen.

CAWOOD, CAWOOD CASTLE, (SE 57403770) In a watching brief maintained by D. A. Brinklow details of the structure and the roof of the brick range attached to the gatehouse were recorded; contractors' trenches were observed.

DONCASTER, FRENCHGATE (SE 574035) John Little reports that part of the Norman castle ditch was found, apparently filled during the 17th or 18th centuries. Medieval occupation to the W. dated from the 13th century, with some evidence for structures in the form of substantial postholes and some industrial activity. A kiln survived, producing Hallgate-type pottery and there was evidence for metalworking. These finds suggested that the area contained backyards of medieval tenements. *See* Roman Section.

EAST WITTON WITHOUT, JERVAULX ABBEY (SE 172858) Archaeological observation and recording by A. Davidson for York Archaeological Trust, HBMC and the owner continued during the conservation campaign.

HULL, BEVERLEY GATE (TA 09712872) Peter Armstrong of the Humberside Archaeology Unit reports on an excavation undertaken to locate and expose the remains of the medieval gateway at the NW. angle of the town defences. The N. side of the gateway and its attached guardhouse were exposed, together with a short length of the town wall. The S. side was located but not fully excavated, giving a width of 4.4 m. All was built of brick laid in English bond, the N. front having foundations of chalk and limestone. The curtain wall, 1.03

m thick, was built separately from the gateway and not bonded into it at the base. The inner arch and the guard house, measuring 3.6 by 3.5 m internally, were erected independently of the gate front. A barbican wall projecting some 4 m was almost destroyed by a 19th-century culvert. A limestone cheek wall with remains of a timber post was evidence for an original gateway associated with an earlier clay rampart. Pottery from construction levels indicates that the gateway was probably not built until after 1350, some 30 years after the licence to crenellate from Edward II, since earlier activity was probably concentrated on the sea wall along the Humber foreshore.

LEEDS, KIRKSTALL ABBEY (SE 260362) Martin Lawler reports continued excavation by the West Yorkshire Archaeology Service S. of the Guest House. Beneath the foundation deposits for the early monastic timber buildings was a sequence of ditches, gullies and plough furrows, evidence of a developing agricultural landscape before the foundation of the abbey. Sieving of the ditch fills has yielded much burnt daub, charcoal and charred seeds, indicating the presence of a structure associated with a pre-monastic ditch beyond the edge of the excavation. A major survey of the abbey buildings and precinct is beginning and a new trench on the Guest House site will explore timber buildings previously located.

LEVISHAM, LEVISHAM MOOR (SE 825922) Stephen Moorhouse reports the survey of a medieval farm belonging to Malton Priory. Extensive earthworks on either side of Dundale Griff include a main enclosure within a substantial bank and ditch, two other enclosures to the S. and remains of several buildings, probably barns and domestic buildings. Documentary evidence shows that land here was granted to the canons in the late 12th and 13th centuries and that they pastured sheep, cattle and horses. Extensive ridge and furrow surrounds the site and represents cultivation in Dundale, documented for the mid 13th century. Linear dykes nearby are also thought to be medieval.

MEXBOROUGH (SK 47939970) A cross slab of the late 12th or early 13th century incised with a sword beside the cross shaft was found in the chancel floor of St. John the Baptist's church. Report by C. Hippisley-Cox.

PONTEFRACT, THE CASTLE (SE 46092238) Ian Roberts of the West Yorkshire Archaeology Service reports that a large pit S. of St. Clement's Chapel was investigated. It was rectangular and 3 m deep, cut partly into bedrock. Its filling was a series of rubbish deposits containing a wide range of highly decorated 14th/15th-century table wares, fragments of painted window glass, a copper jetton of Edward I and much animal and fish bone. Eight graves aligned E.-W. predated the construction layers of the chapel. The pit remains an enigma. *See* Anglo-Scandinavian Section for a cemetery below the castle to the E.

SAND HUTTON (SE 695586) H. C. Mytum reports that archaeology students under his direction surveyed the ruined chapel N. of the present church.

SANDAL MAGNA, SANDAL HOUSE (SE 34251823) P. H. Thornbarrow and D. J. H. Michelmore report that the E. party wall of the house is the side frame of a two-storeyed timber-framed building, of which more may remain incorporated in 20 Malt Kiln Croft. The framing of two bays and part of a third is visible. Infill between the close studding is lime ash on stone flags, suggesting a medieval date.

STAINLAND, OLD LINDLEY FARMHOUSE (SE 09381899) D. J. H. Michelmore reports that additional timber framing has been uncovered. The aisle and timber arcade dividing it from the rebuilt nave of the service bay of the 15th-century aisled hall survive. The house is of yeoman rather than gentry type.

STOCKSBRIDGE, GREEN FARM (SK 253894) D. J. H. Michelmore of Historic Building Specialists Ltd. reports that they have surveyed in detail the dismantled timbers of the 15th-century house described by P. F. Ryder (*Timber-Framed Buildings in South Yorkshire* (1979), 47-55). The timbers have been acquired for repair and reerection at Oughtibridge.

TADCASTER, THE OLD VICARAGE (SE 483434) D. J. H. Michelmore reports the survey of the roof of the 15th-century vicarage, consisting of a two-bay solar wing with central sling-brace truss and a hall range of four and a half bays. This range consisted of a small hall, a two-storeyed service bay with the cross passage under a chamber, and a kitchen open to the roof with a firehood against the gable. The limestone walls may represent a sub-medieval casing of a timber-framed building, but they and most interior features below roof levels are masked by modern additions.

YORK, THE YORKSHIRE MUSEUM (SE 59975212) Observations by D. A. J. Brinklow for the York Archaeological Trust during construction work in the basement revealed walls of St. Mary's Abbey close to the modern floor level.

YORK, 36 CONEY STREET (SE 60255183) A three-bay, three-storey timber-framed building with side wing of early 16th-century date was recorded by D. A. Brinklow. Inserted 17th-century windows and late 18th-century wallpaper are present. The remains of a barrel well survived as a void below the wing.

YORK, LOW OUSEGATE (SE 60295167) Trenching for British Telecom revealed architectural fragments, presumably deriving from St. William's Chapel on Ouse Bridge.

YORK, HAYMARKET (SE 60735193) Trial excavation by D. A. Brinklow located burials and structural remains of All Saints Church, Peasholme, closed in 1586. Larger scale excavations revealed the burial ground and two phases of the church.

YORK, LAYERTHORPE (SE 60915213) Traces of the burial ground of St. Mary's Church were recorded by D. A. Brinklow. Most of the area had been cleared for warehouse construction.

YORK, TERRY AVENUE (SE 60355115) Observations by D. A. Brinklow and M. Stockwell revealed stratified medieval occupation levels over part of the site. Further investigation by A. P. Davison showed that much of the area along the Ouse river front had been prone to flooding in the medieval period.

YORK, ST. GEORGE'S FIELD (SE 605512) Excavation by M. Stockwell for York Archaeological Trust, financed by the Yorkshire Water Authority, took place in advance of the erection of a flood barrier. A shaft 8.5 m deep was sunk through river alluvium on the bank of the Foss. Initial results indicate that the first deposits, dated to the 10th century, were laid down in a fast flowing stream. Above this the fauna changed to that of a river margin; here early 16th-century pottery was found. Above this 3.5 m of alluvium represents almost 300 years of history. At a depth of 3 m there was an abrupt change in the nature of the deposits, probably related to the canalization of the river in the late 18th century.

YORK, 46-54 FISHERGATE (SE 60655115) The entire area of the Gilbertine Priory and earlier parish church of St. Andrew was completely excavated for the York Archaeological Trust by R. L. Kemp. The church was a simple rectangular stone structure buttressed to N. and S., with two circular 'turrets' at the E. end. This was used as the nave of the priory church of 1202, when a long chancel with chapels or aisles was added. To the N. of the church was a chapter house and N. of this a dormitory which included a scriptorium. The N. range at right angles to this housed the refectory; the W. range had been destroyed by the glass factory. These three ranges were connected by the cloister ambulatory surrounding a garth with a central well. A lime kiln found here had been used during the demolition of the priory in the 1530s. Some 350 graves belonging to the monastery were also excavated. A post-excavation project is now in progress, funded by HBMC.

YORK, ST. OSWALD'S HALL, FULFORD (SE 60424964) Peter Bushell reports that the York University Archaeological Society has commenced a long-term project at this former church, converted since 1979 into a house. A cobble foundation set in a trench over 1 m wide was uncovered under the Norman foundations of the NW. corner of the nave. This is earlier than any phase of the church and with a late 10th or early 11th-century cross shaft from the N. wall of the nave suggests an earlier church. A trial trench S. of the former church has recovered artifacts but no structures. Work will continue.

WHARRAM PERCY (SE 858645) P. Stamper reports on the 37th season. Excavation in Toft 10 showed that the main N.-S. lynchet, previously thought to have been a prehistoric boundary reused in the medieval village layout, was constructed in the 12th century. Excavation in Toft 10 and Croft 6 West produced more evidence of the Saxon period. Demolition layers of the supposed medieval parsonages began to reveal a major stone building. To the E. work was completed on Glebe North, where there was considerable evidence of medieval and possibly earlier occupation. Work on the 18th-century farmstead continued: beneath the N. range are medieval structures and the E. row of the medieval village may have extended as far as the parsonage in a series of regular tofts. The Ancient Monuments Laboratory is producing a detailed geophysical survey of a palimpsest of ditches below the medieval village. There is increasing evidence for changes in boundaries previously thought to have remained stable over the centuries.

POST MEDIEVAL

APPLETON ROEBUCK, BRICKYARD FARM (SE 555416) D. J. H. Michelmore reports that the frame of the two-bay timber-framed house has been dismantled and stored with a view to repair and reerection. The building was fully recorded before dismantling, but examination of the timbers may provide further evidence.

BIRSTALL, OAKWELL HALL (SE 217271) J. A. Gilks reports that timbers from the small sunken building

excavated in 1985 were submitted for tree-ring dating, but one had insufficient rings and another proved to be ash. A third, probably a reused stud from an earlier building, was dated to 1490-1535. The pottery found makes it clear that the building was demolished by 1550 and buried under a clay layer by *c.*1600, thus having a short life. Post-excavation work is well advanced.

BOLSTERSTONE, GLASS FURNACE (SK 981266) John Little of the South Yorkshire Archaeology Unit reports that excavation was carried out to complete work begun in 1968 by the Barnsley Archaeological Society, previously denied access to the building erected to house the 17th/18th-century glass furnace, converted to a stable in the 19th century. Below its floor the hearth, stoke-hole, four flues meeting at right-angles and stone platforms for the melting pots survived. There was provision for firing both by wood and coal. Bolsterstone appears to have had two annealing furnaces, of which only the brick arches and stone lintels for their stokeholes now remain.

ELLAND CUM GREETLAND, CLAY HOUSE BARN (SK 09772147) D. J. H. Michelmore reports the conversion of this double-aisled barn revealed that it had an earlier, presumably 16th-century, timber-framed phase. Three aisle posts buried in the stonework of the aisle and SE. gable wall suggest that it originally had both side and end aisles.

HUDDERSFIELD, OAKES FARM (SE 175160) J. A. Gilks of the Tolson Memorial Museum reports discoveries during the restoration of this timber-framed house, rebuilt in stone in the early 17th century and altered during the 18th and 19th centuries. Resting on an earlier floor at the E. end and sealed by the modern flagged floor and by a clay layer were a 14th-century potsherd and part of a bronze ring. Four small wooden mullioned windows were found during dismantling of the 17th-century walls: one which was complete, with traces of deep purple-brown paint, has been preserved in the museum. Also found in the walls was pottery from the 17th century to *c.*1900, vessel and window glass, wooden spindles and bobbins, a child's wooden flute and two cloth seals, one stamped BENIAM BIROM. A pair of 18th-century brass spectacles was found under the staircase.

KNARESBOROUGH, THE CASTLE (SE 34895694) Mary Kershaw of Harrogate Museums and Art Gallery Service reports that restoration of the Keep was begun by Harrogate Borough Council. The original paving of the first floor only remains *in situ* where completely keyed into the fabric; its remains were buried in debris from the demolition of 1644. A brick flue with two channels had been cut through this debris from a ground-floor fireplace. Spreads of soot and a clinker deposit associated with the flue represent some reuse of this level of the keep after its partial destruction.

KNOTTINGLEY, PEAR TREE COTTAGE (SE 49852300) D. J. H. Michelmore reports that the cottage appears to be the detached kitchen of the demolished manor house. It was originally a large ground-floor room with a smokehood in the NE. corner and an unglazed three-light timber window beside a doorway in the W. side. A 17th-century graffito of a ship with the letters I.B. was scratched in a plaster window reveal. Both these openings had been blocked and a new door and window cut through the S. wall. The floor of the chamber above was of lime ash and had been plastered between the joists below. The smokehood of limestone rubble was supported on a timber bressumer. The limestone rubble walls may always have been rendered. The kitchen was heightened by half a storey, perhaps in the early 19th century, and lean-to additions made to the N. and E.

NEWLAND, WOODHOUSE GRANGE (SE 37672148) D. J. H. Michelmore reports that the house, built *c.*1700, has been demolished. It stood in a detached extra-parochial portion of the township, part of the demesne of the Knights Hospitallers' preceptory.

NEWSHAM WITH BRECKONBROUGH, BRECKENBROUGH CASTLE FARM (SE 377844) Jeffrey Watkin reports that in 1985 a green earthenware jug containing 30 gold and 1552 silver coins with two paper receipts for cheese were found. The coins range in date from the reign of Henry VII to 1643-4 and were probably buried in the spring of 1644. They were declared Treasure Trove, purchased by North Yorkshire County Council and are now displayed in the Yorkshire Museum. The pot, a tile covering it and a stone originally marking its position are held at Sion Hill Hall, Kirby Wiske.

NORMANTON, HILL HOUSE (SE 38222171) D. J. H. Michelmore reports that further work on this timber-framed house has confirmed the presence of a kitchen firehood, back to back with that in the housebody.

OSSETT, SOWOOD FARM (SE 28451903) D. J. H. Michelmore reports that work has revealed substantial rafters, probably from buildings of a manorial centre known to have existed on the site since 1302. The present building of 1689 incorporates a timber-framed partition between the body of the house and the outshot.

OVENDEN, LONG CAN (SE 06672652) The conversion to a hospitality centre for Webster's Brewery has provided an opportunity for thorough investigation, D. J. H. Michelmore reports. The earliest part appears to represent the upper bay, originally with a dais canopy, of a sub-medieval open hall. A second timber-framed phase comprised a two-and-a-half bay extension to the solar end, perhaps providing extra space for weaving. The house was cased in stone and extended in 1637, 1708 and later.

SHELF, HARGREAVES HEAD (SE 11962742) D. J. H. Michelmore reports that the barn built in 1708 has been largely destroyed during its conversion to housing. Although the walls are of stone, it had short wallposts connected by archbraces to the tiebeams, as in the near-contemporary nave of Tong church. The roof trusses, of South Yorkshire type, had principal rafters jointed at the top, a single collar and single raked struts from tiebeam to each principal.

WARLEY, PEEL HOUSE (SE 04662680) Restoration has revealed the original parlour fireplace and gaderobe of 1598, the chamber fireplace above and the floor frame of the parlour chamber with unusually widely spaced joists, D. J. H. Michelmore reports. The housebody fireplace of 1691, which replaced an earlier smokehood, was also revealed. In 1691 timber partitions between the wings were removed and replaced with stone walls and the floor frame of the housebody replaced. The house was again remodelled *c.*1820, when the present staircase was inserted.

YORK, ST. SAVIOUR'S CHURCH (SE 60595183) Funerary monuments and floor levels were recorded by N. J. Oakey for York Archaeological Trust during conversion to an archaeological resource centre. The roof was recorded by D. A. Brinklow and painted cased beams by staff of the Trust's drawing office.

MISCELLANEOUS

CADEBY, POT RIDDINGS WOOD (SE 5200) C. Hippisley-Cox reports a threat by a proposed quarry extension. Recent finds from the wood include flints from a possible rock shelter, Roman coins and jewellery, Saxon coins and metalwork, and a late medieval dagger.

METHLEY (SE 8326, 3926) J. Marriot and R. Yarwood report continuing investigation of extensive cropmark complex on the Aire/Calder river terraces. In the areas excavated there was no good correlation between archaeological features, resistivity anomalies and cropmarks. Finds from the topsoil and fieldwalking include Mesolithic, Neolithic and Bronze Age flints, a 4th-century bone pin and a lead loomweight.

BOOK REVIEWS

Borthwick Institute Bulletin 3. 4, 1986; pp. 36. £1.20 + 25p p. & p.

This issue contains a useful survey by Christopher Webb of the varied sources for the history of houses in the Borthwick Institute collection — inventories, wills, surveys, maps, deeds and rate books — especially useful for parsonage houses. There is also an account of the deposited papers of the Mirfield Fathers, many from the records kept by W. H. Frere, covering the period 1892-1979.

DAVID BOULTON, *Early Friends in Dent: The English Revolution in a Dales Community*. Pp. 112, Pls. 2. Dales Historical Monographs, for Dent Family History Circle, Hobsons Farm, Dent, Cumbria LA10 5RF. 1986. ISBN 0 9511578 0 9. Price £9.50 + £1 postage.

Dentdale, briefly glimpsed as the train from Settle climbs its winding and picturesque route to Carlisle, so stretches the historical boundaries of Yorkshire's West Riding to limits beyond the endurance of tidy-minded politicians that it now forms part of Cumbria. Its association with the Lakeland counties to the west was long ago recognized by Quakers who included it, with Sedbergh Monthly Meeting, within the Quarterly Meeting of Westmorland. In 1652 George Fox came to Stonehouses, near the head of the dale, went thence over to Garsdale, finding little support in either place, and so on to Sedbergh, where he founded a meeting at Brigflatts whose meeting-house of 1675 is one of the earliest and best-preserved in the country.

The 'English Revolution' to which the subtitle of this book refers covers the period of religious and social change in the half century from 1640, when obedience to the state in thought, word and deed was paramount, to the years of the 'Glorious Revolution' whose tercentenary is shortly to be celebrated, marking the beginnings of religious freedom and constitutional changes for which nonconformists and particularly Quakers had suffered the most appalling privations. The inhabitants of Dentdale are seen from David Boulton's painstaking researches to have been men of a very independent stamp, prepared even before the advent of Quaker testimony to stage a revolt over the payment of tithes. Here we find evidence of the earlier Seekers from whom much Quaker support was derived and see how Quakerism, brancing out from Sedbergh, came to a position of some strength in one of the more remote valleys. The separation of Dent Friends from Sedbergh to form an independent Particular Meeting in 1681 was a prelude to several years of intense persecution which, though parallelled throughout the country, is here vividly portrayed; in it the callous greed of the informers was occasionally mitigated by the kindness of some magistrate torn between his legal duties and the dictates of human sympathy, or the baliff who, having seized seven cows from a family with 'five or six small children', quietly 'turned back one old cow to help give them a little milk'.

This full and detailed account does not end with the passing of the Toleration Act in 1689, for we learn that as a result six meeting places were registered in Dentdale in 1691, and we follow the continuing independency of thought and action which, in 1701-02, brought about the erection of two separate meeting-houses in the dale. Both these served the same Preparative Meeting but the first, built at Laning in Dent village, did not thrive and in 1834 was replaced by a Wesleyan chapel; Boulton would like to believe that the shell of the meeting-house remains, but unfortunately the blocked doorway and the evidence for raked seating inside all point very clearly to a Methodist rebuilding. The second meeting-house, in the upper dale at Lea Yeat, still survives; it is a small building closed in 1911 and now a cottage, its adherents unequal to the growing religious diversity in Inghamites, Independents and Methodists, whose appearance is briefly sketched in the final chapter.

This book is designed to be the first of a series of monographs covering Dentdale and general Dales history, and further volumes, if they maintain the same high standards of authorship and production, will be eagerly awaited. The only serious criticism to be made is of the absence of a list of abbreviations to works cited in the notes which are gathered at the end of the book. Initials such as SS or GBS should not have to be interpreted by the laborious process of working back to their first reference. Dentdale may be a remote and little-known valley but its history is a microcosm of the great changes which took place in the whole country during the seventeenth century. Its story is not just one of local importance and social and religious historians will find much of interest in a work on which author and publishers are to be warmly congratulated.

CHRISTOPHER STELL.

PETER BREARS, *Traditional Food in Yorkshire*, John Donald Publishers Ltd., Edinburgh 1987; pp.232, ills. £8.50.

As John Burnett demonstrated some twenty years ago in *Plenty and Want. A Social History of Diet in England from 1815 to the Present Day*, a survey of food consumption and dietary change may combine serious historical purpose with general entertainment. Both of these qualities are evident also in *Traditional Food in Yorkshire*,

although its author, the Director of Leeds City Museums, has chosen a more limited field in which to display them. The geographical boundaries of Peter Brears's study are provided by Yorkshire before 1974 and the focus of attention is the nineteenth century, with occasional forays into the eighteenth and twentieth. The traditional foods are those of working-class homes. Because these differed in size and internal lay-out, and because the author is interested in how and where food was prepared and eaten, as well as in its character and quality, there is much in this book about housing conditions. There is also a great deal of information about the lifestyles of different occupational groups, the coal miners and wool textile workers of the West Riding, along with farm workers of the East Riding and the urban poor being singled out for special attention. These matters take up less than one fifth of the book, however, and leave the author free in the chapters which follow to discuss selected articles of food and drink, such as meat, fish, bread and beer. Even so earlier considerations are not forgotten, for the author has things to say also about the availability of different fuels and the ways in which special occasions were frequently marked by the consumption, not always in moderation, of food and drink. Mr. Brears's professional interests and expertise are most evident in these chapters, with their line drawings (based very often on examples to be found in Yorkshire museums) of ovens, kitchen ranges, brewing jars and similar articles. For good measure there are recipes, complete in many cases with culinary instructions. *Traditional Food in Yorkshire* thus contains more than might at first be suggested by its title.

Many of the Parliamentary Papers, topographical accounts and novels cited in the notes to this book will probably be familiar to readers of this journal. It is useful nevertheless to have them recorded here together with others more elusive, including the invaluable recollections of the elderly. A minor grumble in this connexion is the author's occasional failure to transfer to the bibliography the short title references cited in the notes to each chapter, thus frustrating the reader's wish to identify these more precisely. A more important omission, given the author's professed aim of writing with historians as well as a more general membership in mind, is the absence of critical comment relating to the source themselves. When so much of our picture of home life and living conditions in the past must necessarily depend on the interpretation of what is at best an incomplete record and at worst a biased one, more might with advantage have been said (e.g. on pp. 4-5) on this subject. Mr. Brears is aware that not all coal miners earned hewers' wages, for instance, and that the size and composition of a household might influence considerably both its collective earning power and living conditions, yet points such as these tend to become lost in a discussion of ideal types. Mr. Brears refers on pages 125 and 211 to D. J. Salmon's edition of William Copperthwaite's 1841 survey of Malton, but does not say that this provides detailed information concerning income and expenditure by household, including money spent on food and drink. It is a pity that Mr. Brears was not able to find an opportunity to exploit more fully this valuable source of information, perhaps in his discussion of the East Riding, since several of the households in Copperthwaite's list contain farm workers. On matters of fact, it is not correct to say (p.46) that *cassons* (dung) and expensive coal were the only fuels available on the Yorkshire Wolds: gorse continued to be used for this purpose into the nineteenth century wherever it could still be found. As Mr. Brears correctly points out, water for domestic and other purposes was scarce on the Wolds. The field ponds described on p.138 were the product of the age of improvement, as the author says, but most of the large village ponds referred to on the same page were older.

It would be quite wrong, however, to end on a critical note or to be unduly solemn about this book. Although it is not the 'complete picture of life in Yorkshire in the last century' suggested by the publishers, it is nevertheless an attractive account of certain aspects of it, never dull and sometimes highly amusing. The author's wish (p.5) to satisfy the interests of a wide readership has presented him with a difficult task, and it is perhaps inevitable that not everyone will be equally happy with the outcome. The book will undoubtedly give a great deal of pleasure to many readers. Some may well be tempted to test its qualities in a way that lies beyond the expertise of this reviewer, by using it to try the delights of Whitby Yule Cake and similar traditional goodies.

University of Hull A. HARRIS.

TERRY BUCHANAN, *William Hayes 1871-1940, York Photographic Artist;* Hutton Press, Cherry Burton 1986. £4.25.

From the early days of photography the walled city of York with its narrow streets, medieval buildings and Minster has attracted photographers. Hill and Adamson came from Scotland in 1844 some nine months before the inventor of the new art, William Henry Fox Talbot. They were followed by others, some nationally known like Francis Frith and George Washington Wilson, as well as local firms, who realised the commercial possibilities of photography and produced pictures of the well known antiquities for sale to the tourists who made York their Mecca. At the end of the nineteenth century a considerable impetus was given to these businesses by the advent of the photographic picture postcard. Literally hundreds of firms published postcards largely of stereotyped views, particularly the west front of the Minster, the Minster from the City Walls, Bootham Bar, Micklegate Bar and the Shambles.

One local photographer, however, eschewed these popular views and took his camera into other less well

known areas of the City and the countryside around. This was William Hayes who in 1902 set up his own studio in Monkgate. His output was, compared with firms like Valentines and Dennis, small but his topographical postcards, each handled by him in all stages of production, are now eagerly sought by collectors.

While his name was well known to these collectors little, if anything, was known of the man himself. Terry Buchanan, now Chief Photographer of the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England, in his book has rectified this omission from surviving letters, day books and diaries. Hayes, the son of a boot and shoemaker, showed an early interest in the arts and for ten years attended the York School of Art. His first job was as a draughtsman at Rowntree's Cocoa Works but after a short time he started the career that was to occupy the rest of his life. He became a photographic assistant with G. H. Thwaites in High Petergate. There he gained experience in portraits and groups, the bread and butter work of commercial photographers, but in his own time with his own camera he practised the other aspects of his chosen profession and prepared for the day when he would start his own business. The sixty-two photographs selected to illustrate the book, arranged somewhat haphazardly by place and time, cover the span of his photographic career. They certainly show the breadth and quality of his work but leave a wish that more could have been included.

The surprising aspect of Hayes's character that is revealed is his prolificacy as a correspondent. He wrote frequently to his elder brother Thomas, a teacher in West Hartlepool, illustrating both letters and envelopes with drawings of events in York. Alas, only a few tantalizing glimpses are given, notably, descriptions of the Ouse in flood in 1892 and frozen over in 1895 and a royal visit in 1893.

No doubt commercial considerations limited the number of photographs and letters that could be included, but nevertheless the pleasing result is the chronicle of an 'ordinary photographer earning a living from the craft he loved'. But ordinary as he may have been, just one of many commercial photographers practising in the City, what sets him apart from the others is the completeness of his archive. Not only do his business records survive but also many of his negatives and, surprisingly, his studio and darkroom, still standing at Hutton-le-Hole, little altered from the day it was moved there from York in 1911.

That all this has survived is entirely due to William Hayes's son, Raymond Harland Hayes, whose care for his father's material is duly acknowledged. Terry Buchanan also deserves credit for bringing to the attention of a wider public the life and work of a photographer previously known only to collectors willing to pay a similar price to the book for just one topographical Hayes postcard.

York HUGH MURRAY.

ANTHONY CHADWICK, *Ripon Liberty. Law and Order over the Last 300 Years,* Ripon Museum Trust 1986; pp. 60, figs 30.

This booklet was commissioned by the Bench of magistrates of Ripon Liberty to commemorate the city's supposed eleventh centenary. In short chatty chapters it covers the history of the Archbishop of York's ancient Liberty and explains how the present judicial arrangements continue its former powers. The authors also describes the tangled relationships between the Borough of Ripon and the Liberty and narrates anecdotes of court cases through the centuries. It is well illustrated with portraits of prominent justices and reproductions of charges, tables of fees etc. The arrangement is somewhat confusing, but it should interest anyone studying the history of Ripon.

D. COGGINS, *Upper Teesdale: the archaeology of a North Pennine Valley*. British Archaeological Reports 150, 1986; pp. 156, pl. 19, figs 53. £14.

One of the bright spots of northern archaeology in the 1970s and 80s has been the series of investigations by Dennis Coggins, Ken Fairless and their entourage in the Tees valley above Middleton-in-Teesdale. The excavation of the Late Bronze Age round house and enclosures at Bracken Hill is of outstanding importance, being one of the very few of this period in the North. The rescue excavation of the Iron Age site at Dubby Sike (now beneath Cow Green reservoir), the work on an Iron Age cremation cairn at Middle Hurth, the investigation of the multi-period (prehistoric — early medieval) clusters of farmhouses at Simy Folds and the Romano-British sites at Forcegarth provide data which, together with extensive fieldwork, enable an assessment to be made of the early settlement of the upper dale. Dennis Coggins has now published this as B.A.R. 150.

The work comprises an introduction followed by chapters on the periods from mesolithic to early medieval, two chapters devoted to farming and metal-working, and a conclusion. An equal space is then given to three gazetteers of sites, stray finds, and metal-working sites. The figures include distribution maps and drawings of sites, both excavated and unexcavated.

The interest of the work is that it is a study of a sparsely settled area, for there was never a major population concentration at any period. This may reflect in the extremely few prehistoric finds of all periods, both stray

and excavated, in the study areas. There are only eleven neolithic axes, two flanged bronze axes, a bronze spearhead and an axe, and one beehive quern topstone in about 300 square kilometers. However, there is a concentration of prehistoric sites and field systems in the dale itself between Middleton and Cow Green reservoir, mainly on the south side of the river, but their chronology mainly depends on the C14 dates of the excavated sites, sometimes not very adequate. As there are pollen diagrams from several peat sites in the dale, supported by C14 dates, it has been possible to correlate, at least in a preliminary way, the settlement and vegetation histories, though they do not always tell the same story. Thus there is evidence from the pollen analyses of widespread and synchronous forest clearances in neolithic times, but very few stray finds and no sites of the period. But by the Bronze Age there was a well organized, egalitarian society, whose economy, as at all periods in the dale, was mainly pastoral.

Two problems could form the foci of future investigations. There are few signs of a formally marked boundary system in prehistoric Upper Teesdale, yet in neighbouring Swaledale there has been discovered an elaborate system of long walls, at present the nearest parallel in England to the Dartmoor reaves. An investigation and comparison of the prehistoric boundaries in the Pennine Dales could lead to a deeper understanding of the phenomenon. Secondly, there is the problem, frequently mentioned in the text, that the prehistoric settlement so far discovered in Upper Teesdale lies mainly to the south of the river, while the medieval and modern settlements are on the north. The author dismisses the simplest explanation that the prehistoric settlements on the continuously inhabited and favoured north side were destroyed by their successors, on the grounds that there has been little ploughing. But prehistoric sites in an inhabited area can be destroyed in many ways, being used as quarries for roads, walls and buildings, for example, and often being overlain by later settlements. It seems to me that the simplest explanation is the best.

All in all, this is a splendid achievement by spare-time field workers, the more remarkable because during much of the work Dennis Coggins was simultaneously a lecturer in history, the proprietor of two dales farms and the landlord of the High Force Hotel. What a man!

Skelton, York D. A. SPRATT

JAN CROWTHER, *Enclosure Commissioners and Surveyors in the East Riding,* East Yorkshire Local History Society, 1986; pp. 56, pl. 3. £1.80.

The identities and activities of 183, mostly local, men who worked as Enclosure Commissioners in the East Riding are discussed and documented. In some cases three generations of the same family served as surveyors between 1720 and 1860. John Outram, an estate steward, was the busiest, taking part in 73 awards in Yorkshire. These commissioners' methods of procedure are described and all are listed in an appendix.

ANNE DIGBY, *From York Lunatic Asylum to Bootham Park Hospital,* University of York, Borthwick Paper 69, 1986; pp. 56. £1.80 + 20p p. & p.

This brief history of the mental hospital for the City of York, founded in 1777, is mainly concerned with its first hundred years. The personalities of the doctors in charge and its everyday life up to 1952 are interestingly narrated. The maladministration and atrocious conditions there in 1813, due to financial mismanagement, the questionnaire to be answered by patients' relatives, diet, occupations of inmates and treatment are all discussed. There was a marked change between 1838, when 18 of the 174 patients were mechanically restrained and dosed with 'green and grey insane powders', and 1923 when patients saw film shows, had a cricket team, and lived in conditions described as like 'a first-class hotel'.

MARGARET L. FAULL and MARIE STINSON (eds), *Domesday Book: Vol. 30, Yorkshire;* Phillimore, Chichester, 1986, £26.00 hardback, £17.50 paperback.

The Domesday inquisition was initiated at Christmas 1085 and the original manuscript of Domesday Book was completed in 1086. The Phillimore edition of Domesday Book, published county by county, was initiated in 1969 and completed, appropriately, in 1986. Among the volumes which appeared on this ninth centenary were happily the two which deal with the Yorkshire section of Domesday Book. The intention of the late Dr. John Morris who master-minded the publication of the Phillimore edition was to provide 'a layman's Domesday Book the scholar can use, and a scholar's the laymen can read'. He also wanted a portable Domesday Book that the scholar and layman could possess and not merely consult in major libraries. Abraham Farley in 1783 had made the Latin text available in print for the first time, complete with abbreviation marks replicating those of the original manuscript. But Farley's edition was published in large heavy volumes which are to be found, if at all, only in major libraries. The volumes of the Phillimore edition aimed to provide for each county not only a translation of the English text based on Farley's edition, but also to print in parallel on facing pages the original abbreviated Latin of Farley's typography. Scholars working on Yorkshire have long been well

served by the translations of the Yorkshire section of Domesday Book provided by William Bawdwen in 1809, by Robert H. Skaife in the pages of this Journal in 1895 and 1898, and by William Farrer in the Victoria County History in 1912. Now with the timely appearance of the Phillimore volumes, edited in an excellent edition by Margaret Faull and Marie Stinson, they are provided with a more modern translation which can be readily checked against Farley's text on facing pages. As a further bonus they are provided with helpful commentaries on the historical background of the North, as well as useful biographies alike of major pre-Conquest English landholders and major post-Conquest non-English landholders. In addition these volumes of the Yorkshire Domesday contain a very generous allocation of explanatory notes on the entries, indexes of personal names and place-names, and finally eight useful locational maps.

For Yorkshire two volumes were necessary even in the Phillimore edition because the Yorkshire section of Domesday Book is composed of three parts, the text proper, the Claims, and the so-called Summary. The three parts are organisationally distinct: the text is arranged tenurially, lands being listed and described under the name of each tenant-in-chief; the Claims, made about land holdings in dispute, are arranged geographically for the three ridings: and the Summary, essentially a pre-cursor of Domesday Book, is arranged geographically by riding and wapentake. Moreover, as north-western England had not been divided into counties by 1086, large areas of land in Amounderness, in what became the later counties of Lancashire, Cumberland and Westmorland, were also included within the Yorkshire sections. This complexity in the arrangement of the 'Yorkshire' sections in the original manuscript is further compounded by the layout of these two Phillimore volumes, where pages are not numbered in the usual way, thus making them more difficult to use. Pagination of the text in the Phillimore edition is based on the columns of text in the original manuscript, but this pagination is not used thereafter for purposes of reference. For such purposes the reader must have recourse to the alphabetical index of place-names which reveals the location in the translation of all entries relating to a particular place. The King and the other tenants-in-chief are identified by means of 'numbered acronyms', in the sequence recorded in the original manuscript. Thus, '1Y' refers to the lands of the King in Yorkshire as a whole with the first entry among the royal holdings, referring to Easingwold and its sokelands, being recorded as '1Y1'. Similarly the first entry for the holdings of Robert, Count of Mortain, in the North Riding is recorded as '5N1', and the first entry for his holdings in the East Riding as '5E1'. Simple acronyms suffice for the Claims, but for the Summary more elaborate acronyms, based on ridings and wapentakes, in the order in which they appear in the original manuscript, are adopted. Thus the first entry for Skyrack Wapentake in the West Riding is recorded as 'SW, Sk1'. Readers should be warned, however, that the numbering of places in the map keys, as on the maps, is based on a different system.

It was clearly the intention of the editors that, in the absence from the translation of any indication of the existence of explanatory notes, their existence in Part Two should have been indicated in every instance alongside the identification acronyms in the alphabetical index of place-names. Nevertheless, there are too many instances where this is not the case, which is particularly unfortunate, for the explanatory notes of the editors constitute an important contribution in their own right. Errors and ambiguities in Farley's text are unerringly recorded in the notes and usually, though not invariably, indicated by means of asterisks in the margins of this Latin text. In the translation, however, these errors and ambiquities have been eliminated.

In keeping with Dr. Morris' intention this translation renders Domesday terminology in modern language with, at times, unfortunate results, for the Domesday terms did not mean what modern words now convey. Despite the ambiguities over the status of the Domesday *miles,* the translation of his designation as 'soldier' rather than 'knight' is misleading. Again in this translation the distinction between *liber homo* and *socmannus* is reduced somewhat confusingly to that between 'Freeman' and 'freeman'. The least satisfactory feature is the translation of *villanus* as 'villager' rather than 'villein'. In large parts of Yorkshire, notably the uplands, there were few villages in which such villagers could have resided. This the editors of the Yorkshire volumes recognise, as is indicated by their translation of *villa* as 'vill', whereas in the Phillimore volume for Cheshire, where the Amounderness entries are also included, the translation adopted is 'village'. In other words the editors of the Yorkshire volumes recognise that the vill was a tract of land containing arable land, meadow, pasture and sometimes woodland, as well as habitations, and that the latter were either scattered or nucleated in one village. Nevertheless they persist in retaining the use of 'villager' for *villanus*.

These general criticisms apart, the translation of the original text in the Phillimore volumes for Yorkshire is impeccable. This reviewer has found only two mis-translations. One concerns the entry in the Claims for the West Riding where it is recorded that the 2 manors in Ryther contained 2 carucates of the land of Ketill and *fratrum ejus* which, although ambiguous in its Latin, should have been translated not as 'his brother's land' but rather, as Skaife and Farrer appreciated, as 'his brothers' land'. The second concerns the translation of the *Leuga* of St. Wilfrid at Ripon as his 'Territory' rather than his 'League', an error magnified in the explanatory note by the attribution to this territory of an area 'of 1 league circumference around the church'. The Domesday text for Ripon refers to 'The whole 1 league around the church'; and an earlier record of *c.*1030 refers to 'a mile's space on each side'. As the testimony for a law suit in 1228 indicates, St. Wilfrid's League undoubtedly embraced a territory which was 1 league in *radius*. A territory which was 1 league in circumference would have embraced an area of little more than 50 statute acres and could hardly have accommodated the land for 10 ploughs recorded in 1086, whereas a territory 1 league in radius would have embraced an area of over 2,000 acres.

Other errors of interpretation in the notes concern the attribution of either more than or fewer than 8 bovates to 1 carucate. These attributions are made on the basis of discrepancies between the recorded totals of carucates and bovates for groups of dependencies and the actual totals obtained by totalling the numbers of carucates and bovates as recorded singly for the same dependencies. In some of these cases like Whitwell, as comparison with the Summary reveals, obvious errors have been made by the compiler of the original manuscript. With the dependencies of Coxwold the editors have erred in their arithmetic, and with the sokelands of Hornsea both the original compiler and the editors have erred.

In general the identification of places in the Phillimore volumes for Yorkshire follows those given in the Domesday Gazetteer edited by Professor H. C. Darby and Mr. G. R. Versey. There is one major difference in that the name given in the Domesday Gazetteer in each case is that of the township which was the successor of the vill recorded in Domesday Book, whereas the name used in this edition is that of the settlement centre in the township concerned. It is the very great virtue of the Phillimore volumes for Yorkshire, that, unlike the Domesday Gazetteer where private grid references are used, here six-figure National Grid references are given for all identified settlements. In many cases the present settlement of the name is not exactly in the same location as its medieval predecessor. Where this has been ascertained, usually on the basis of the meticulous investigations of Professor Beresford into the 'lost villages of Yorkshire', the grid reference given is that of the medieval rather than the modern centre. For located settlements the point chosen to cite for the grid reference is in each case the church or, in the absence of a church, the hall or, failing that, the crossroads. Where names survive only for areas and not settlements the grid reference given is that of the appropriate geographical centre point; and such names are given in the translation, as in the indexes, in inverted commas. Unidentifiable names are given in their Domesday spelling in italic print, but in fact six-figure grid references are given in the index for several settlements recorded by unidentifiable names. Thanks to the work of earlier scholars notably R. H. Skaife, A. H. Smith, M. W. Beresford, I. S. Maxwell and, more recently, the staff of the West Yorkshire Archaeological Unit, few Yorkshire vills remain completely unidentified. Some places like 'Haggenby' in the Ainsty have been re-located, but others like *Blaten* in Langbargh Wapentake, once believed to have been found, have become lost again. Altogether 21 vills remain unlocated and there are a further 82 which are only approximately located. There are therefore new discoveries to be made. Despite the intensive study to which the Domesday Survey for Yorkshire has been subjected many problems still await solution. Thanks to the admirable editing of Margaret Faull and Marie Stinson, so that errors whether interpretative or typographical are remarkably few, we now have readily accessible a reliable edition of the Yorkshire Domesday. With this on our bookshelves for the remarkably low price of £26.00 for the 2 volumes of the Library Edition, or £17.50 for the two volumes in the Students' Edition, we can now join in this work.

University of Leeds GLANVILLE JONES.

C. M. FRASER AND K. EMSLEY (eds), *The Court Rolls of the Manor of Wakefield from October 1664 to September 1665,* Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 1986; pp.XXXI + 265. £12.50.

This important undertaking, produced by the Wakefield Court Rolls publishing section of the Y.A.S., provides a summary edition of the rolls for the court baron and court leet of the ancient manor of Wakefield which, with its dependencies, covered a huge area of the middle part of the historic West Riding, extending from Normanton in the east to the Lancashire border in the west. Nobody could say, therefore, that these records of manorial jurisdiction and administration are only of localised interest. Indeed they provide a wide range of information about tenants, their families, cottages and occupations, for most of the courts' time was spent on land transfers and actions involving property of various kinds. Those historians interested in land tenure, law and custom will find this volume, like its predecessors, useful, and they will note the persistent continuity of practice. But the text also reveals something of a 'return to normal' after the upheavals of the 1640s and 1650s. Moreover it includes information about officeholding, and about the local officers concerned with the petty offenders brought before the court, and with other aspects of manorial administration. In a carefully edited and helpfully indexed volume there is much incidental material about topography, tracks, footpaths, textiles, mining and farming, together with a rich store of minor place-names and family details.

University of Leeds G. C. F. FORSTER

MARIE HARTLEY AND JOAN INGILBY, *Dales Memories,* Dalesman Books 1986; pp.142. £7.95p p. & p.

Those distinguished authors, the Misses Hartley and Ingilby, have now added the eleventh book to their tally. This most welcome addition to the local bookshelf displays the same effective combination of method and presentation: documentary research, keen-eyed fieldwork, carefully selected and informative photographs, the critical use of oral testimony, local memories and traditions, controlled exposition in a fluent, pleasant and highly readable style — the whole work suffused with a profound sympathy and understanding for a proud and distinctive way of life through the years.

Indeed, continuity, as well as change, in the Dales is a characteristic of the authors' material in their new book, which comprises six chapters. One identifies the once well-stocked deer parks of the Dales and traces their decline. Another reminds us of the essential role of corn mills in the economic and social life of every district, yet "today not a single corn mill fulfilling its old function remains". A rich, if selective, study of barns follows: types of buildings, dates, use, survivals; a survey to be used by planners, topographers and tourists alike. From farm buildings it is no far cry to hill sheep, whose seasonal movements the authors establish in an unusual discussion of the driving of flocks from the Dales to the East Riding Wolds, and to other more hospitable grazing for the winter.

From sheep we move to men and women in the last two chapters. One follows the varied fortunes of dalesfolk who emigrated to America and Australia in the earlier 19th century. The other is a "sheaf of memories", made up of oral and written recollections of a variety of people: farmers, shepherd, auctioneer, cheese factor, to name only a few. In a volume of separate studies there is no conclusion, but one can readily be drawn; the Misses Hartley and Ingilby have produced another fine work of social and agrarian history and topography which is a historical record as well, a book to be owned, read now, and treasured as part of the Dales archives.

University of Leeds G. C. F. FORSTER

DAVID HEY, *Yorkshire from AD 1000,* Longman Group Ltd., London, 1986; pp. xvi + 342, pl. 26, figs 26. pbk £10. 95.

'After a thousand years of history the county of Yorkshire was abolished on All Fools Day 1974'. This useful book covers that millennium in six chapters (though that from 1914 to 1974 is only 13 pages long), interspersed with judiciously chosen illustrations, clear maps and apposite tables. Every important topic which might be expected is included, whether the Norman settlement, medieval monasteries, Jacobean mansions, textiles and coal, railways or religion. Most of the county's notable personalities are here, from Ailred of Rievaulx to Titus Salt, from the Brontës to James Herriot, though not Lady Margaret Hoby or J. B. Priestley. Quotations from familiar sources are used to illustrate social history and welcome use is made of buildings as documents for that topic.

Particularly welcome is the assimilation of recent research, whether from the excavations in York at Coppergate and the Minster, or from documents, such as the Wetherby census of 1776 or the debate on the meaning of 'waste' in Domesday. The work of Professors Dickens and Palliser is summarized and there are many insights from the author's own research. It is satisfying to find how often the source of an interesting passage is a paper in the *YAJ*. Place-names and surnames are used as evidence, while there is a short but useful account of towns new and old, including both Doncaster and Leeds, Bradford and Ravenser Odd. Whether it is a topic, a period, an area or an influential person that is sought in this history, they will be found, covered in some way, though often necessarily succinctly. Certainly all towns and cities, monasteries and castles, industries and leading families will find a mention. There is even space for brass bands and football, as well as for textiles and fishing.

Errors noticed are few. On p. 179 the impression is given that in 1642 Charles I proceeded from raising his standard at Nottingham to York and then tried to secure Hull, when the sequence of events was the opposite way round. York has lost its Walmgate walls in Fig. 3.1. The sources of quotations are not always clearly identified and the index is deficient. For instance, the YAS is mentioned on p. 298, but could only be found by following 'cultural activities' in the index. Some sources, as Fletcher 1910, Hey 1974, do not appear in the bibliography.

This book deserves wide dissemination and study. It will further enhance Mr Hey's reputation for dedicated research and clear exposition. If the other books in the series, *A Regional History of England,* are like this, many will want to collect them all.

RCHM, York R. M. BUTLER

M. A. HICKS, *Richard III as Duke of Gloucester: a Study in Character,* University of York, Borthwick Paper 70; pp. 38. £1.80 + 20p p. & p.

The author observes that the evidence for Richard's reign is scanty and difficult to interpret so that it is hard to assess his character solely by relying on that material. However, he was Duke of Gloucester for 22 years and adult for 12 before his seizure of power. Consideration of documents from that period, especially a collection of deeds and memoranda made for him in the 1460s and 1470s reveal him as single-minded, calculating and foresighted. Though pious, well-informed and occasionally generous, he was also selfish, ruthless and unchivalrous. His character probably remained unchanged as king, but he was certainly 'a remarkably successful and far from conventional member of the late medieval nobility'.

ROSEMARY HORROX (ed.), *Richard III and the North,* Studies in Regional and Local History, 6, Department of Adult Education, University of Hull, 1986, pp. v + 129. £4.95 pb.

The observance of historical anniversaries has become a habit, one of the more estimable consequences of which is the stimulus to further research and to the reappraisal of historical interpretations. It was inevitable that Richard III, Bosworth Field and all that should receive their share of popular and scholarly attention; it was also highly desirable that the North should be well to the fore in the historical investigations and reassessments. Taking their cue from the late Professor Charles Ross's excellent study of Richard III, the editor and her fellow contributors have produced a strong collection of essays which reflect upon the significance of northerners and the North in Richard III's interesting career and brief reign.

Dr Horrox herself, in a nicely balanced introduction, neatly shows cause for supposing 'that Richard's relationship with the region was not uniformly harmonious', and in her main paper she has no difficulty in demonstrating how the existence of the Percy estates and influence in the East Riding reduced Richard's chances of dominating that part of Yorkshire, where his defeat brought 'few changes'. Pursuing his earlier work on the magnates and gentry of Yorkshire, Dr Michael Hicks shows how Richard established himself in the North, but he too is a touch sceptical about any idea that Richard's dominance was total. Professor Palliser makes a welcome return to the history of York, which he sees as a divided city during the Ricardian period, though his conclusion about civic loyalties and tensions echoes that of Edward Miller in the *V.C.H. City of York* (1961). York is also the subject of Pamela Tudor-Craig's slighter piece on Richard III's carefully stage-managed entry into the city. Finally, an important paper by Michael Jones on the difficult relationship between the Stanleys and Richard in Lancashire and Cheshire adds a north-western dimension to a meaty and helpful volume.

University of Leeds G. C. F. FORSTER

H. K. KENWARD, A. R. HALL & A. K. G. JONES *Environmental Evidence from a Roman Well and Anglian Pits in the Legionary Fortress*. Archaeology of York 14/5. Council for British Archaeology for York Archaeological Trust, 1986. 48pp + 1 fiche.

The pre-eminence of the members of the York Environmental Archaeology Laboratory in the integrated study of palaeoecological materials from urban archaeological sites needs little comment and this short paper, their latest offering, upon plant and animal remains from the eastern corner of the Roman fortress, beneath Bedern, makes a significant advance towards a more holoptic approach to their data. The fascicule is both well ordered and well written and some of their conclusions, particularly with regard to the 'Anglian pits', perhaps deserves a wider audience than they are likely to get in a separately published specialist report, in a discipline still often considered divorced from the main stream of archaeology. If there is any area where palaeoecology can contribute much to the study of the early historic period it is that of urban continuity, or otherwise, and the picture of desertion in this quadrant of the fortress, presented by Kenward and his colleagues, is a more vital contribution than many years of expensive excavation might have provided for a period which is essentially aceramic and therefore difficult to trace. Even though the palaeoecological evidence samples a far wider catchment than excavation could ever hope to achieve in the urban context, the results require treatment with some circumspection for, as early medieval cities in southern France sometimes temporarily contracted almost to within the more easily defined bounds of their Roman amphitheatres, post-Roman York may lie elsewhere and it would be dangerous to argue too far from the particular to the general. Archaeologists also tend to place too great a weight upon the mid-point of radiocarbon dates and it has to be stressed that A.D. 740±80, the date of the deposit, means there is a 66% probability that the actual date lies between the limits, giving a range from the mid-Anglian period to within thirty years of the fall of York to Ivar the Boneless; a 99% probability (±160 yrs) extends the range to a period when excavations in Coppergate would suggest that the focus of the urban community had shifted away from the walled enclosure. These comments are designed to urge caution and are not intended to denigrate the major contribution to post-Roman York which the contents of one pit have produced. The results from the well behind the defences, infilled during the early to mid-third century, are less enigmatic and the image of ordered cleanliness, hinted at in the study of the Roman sewer (AY 14/1), is further reinforced. Almost to be regarded as a zone fossil of the Roman period, the stored grain fauna was again recovered. The range of imported fruits, grape, fig, walnut and olive, the latter the first Roman record outside London and Colchester, provide a further indication of those often unseen elements of trade and vindicate the use of on-site bulk sieving for recovery of such elements.

Although well integrated in itself, the report still betrays a certain failure of communication with the archaeologist, which is perhaps inevitable where palaeoecologist and excavator work apart and interesting questions fail to be asked. This is illustrated by the bold statement 'large quantities of *Sphagnum-Eriophorum vaginatum* peat were brought into York during the Roman period'. This evidence is only available from the palaeoecological record but there is no attempt to answer the obvious question — why? Is this fuel, bedding or stock litter, all of which are attested in the ethnographic record? More discussion with the archaeologist

should have produced an additional paragraph on the Roman utilisation of peat, a trade item again absent from the archaeological and literary record.

The report's most serious deficiences are not entirely the fault of the authors. Despite assertions to the contrary by its main proponents, micro-fiche is unlikely to be easily accessible to many who might wish to read this fascicule and their statement' 'the fiche material is an integral part of the report and should be consulted if the text is to be read at more than a superficial level' should further serve to increase the frustration of those, like me, who do not have ready access to this ridiculous system. Attempts to use a 20x hand lens created almost as bad a headache as staring into the bright light of a fiche reader in the university library, a piece of equipment in heavy demand for library catalogue use and its monopolisation by one individual for an hour or so being liable to create some disquiet. The sooner the C.B.A. abandons this ludicrous system in favour of more extensive use of photoreduced word processor set tables the better. The decisions as to what should be placed in fiche are also quixotic. Thus, it would have been relatively easy to include the numbers of individuals in the tables to insect remains, even where the numbers per sample could not be fitted in. Table 103, of phytophagous insects and their host plants, would have been more useful in the text than the histograms of figures 50–56, which are only marginally referred to.

It is only in the use of statistical parameters to define insect communities that the authors descend to the use of jargon. The use of the term 'restoration' in the discussion of Mac-Arthur's broken stick model is not easily understood without the associated ranked curves, diagrams which this report could easily have included from the faunal lists, rather than the reader having to seek them in the fiche. It is also debateable whether the use of such abbreviations as RF, %NRF, etc, all explained in the two page long table 80, in the main body of the text is really necessary; the result is to make the whole less easily followed by the general reader, by whom the contents certainly merit perusal. Indeed, the excellent drawing of *Gastrophysa viridula* on its host, the dock, on the front cover might suggest that it is to a more general audience that the volume is aimed. If palaeoecology is to assume the core area of archaeology to which it so rightly belongs, then every effort has to be made to make reports thoroughly intelligible. The latest York fascicule is certainly a step in that direction but a little more thought was necessary over the presentation of statistical data and the use of reference to unpublished archive reports to back up methodology and interpretation — there are eight such in the bibliography to the paper — kept to a minimum. To be fair, however, delays in the publication of other sites are unlikely to be the fault of the authors, and archive reports are available for consultation.

Other comments are restricted to a number of minor matters. The recent publication by M. J. Delany of *Yorkshire Mammals* (University of Bradford, 1985) leads to an updating of records of yellow-necked mouse, now known from as far north as Thirsk and Driffield, and its presence in Roman York need not be of climatic significance, a point which the authors deal with very carefully. Only Kenward's bugs seem to indicate temperatures up to 1°C warmer than present day. Will these eventually prove to be a better indicator of post-glacial climatic change than the more widely studied beetles?

The York Environmental Archaeology Laboratory is to be complemented upon a most valuable contribution to Roman and post-Roman York. The basis which has been built up over the past decade is now sufficient to suggest that the time has come for a reorientation, away from specialist site reports, where site selection is based upon archaeological considerations, to a strategy where problem orientation dominates. The question, what was the nature of late and post-Roman York, is better answered from the palaeoecological than the purely archaeological record. Perhaps the time has come for the Lab. to flex its hard built up muscles in terms of future research.

University of Birmingham PAUL BUCKLAND.

I. A. KINNES, & I. H. LONGWORTH, *Catalogue of the Excavated Prehistoric and Romano-British Material in the Greenwell Collection*. Illustrations by P. K. Dean with K. Hughes. British Museum Publications. (1985) Pp. 154 & 203 illustrations. £35.00.

William Greenwell's monumental work *British Barrows,* published in 1877, reported the opening of 220 round barrows and 34 long barrows, illustrating by line engravings of many of the objects of pottery, flints, stone and bronze recovered in the course of the work. However, its lack of plans, sections and views of the burials was already a retrograde element in archaeological reporting. Canon Greenwell was a most remarkable man, the son of a Durham landowning family struck by misfortune, ill health had denied him the chance of a career in law so the church was an obvious vocation. Greenwell became a minor canon of Durham Cathedral and later librarian and archivist of the Dean and Chapter. This provided the base for his antiquarian activities; as translator and editor of historical documents, as a collector of coins, bronze and stone implements, and from 1862 to 1901 the leader of annual campaigns of barrow digging. These with many other activities of a non-clerical nature made him a character worthy of the pages of the *Barchester Chronicles*. The majority of this barrow digging was conducted in eastern Yorkshire, and with the surface found implements, Greenwell assembled the greatest collection of archaeological material from the soil of the United Kingdom. The loss to

Yorkshire of so much of its archaeological heritage by its removal to the British Museum was deplored by Greenwell's more farsighted contemporaries.

This catalogue is the long overdue companion to *British Barrows* and Greenwell's other reports providing a summary of the excavation results and illustrating all the finds. The work is prefaced by a brief appraisal of Greenwell as an archaeologist with a calendar of his life and barrow digging activities. The catalogue follows Greenwell's barrow numbering, thankfully abandoning the use of Roman numerals. Each entry briefly describing the barrow structure, the burials, and the associated finds. The second half of the catalogue deals in the same way with a further 146 un-numbered barrows excavated by Greenwell or whose finds were acquired from other excavators. The second half of the volume consists of line illustrations of pottery, flint, stone, jet, amber and iron artefacts. The quality of these drawings is outstanding; the illustrators P. K. Dean and K. Hughes have most skillfully depicted the artefacts to modern standards for the first time in the majority of instances. The catalogue text contrasts unfavourably with the elegance and clarity of the illustrations; the type face used is a particularly unfortunate choice. The lack of fabric descriptions for the vessels is a strange omission, though details are provided of the decorative motifs when these are easily understood by reference to the illustrations.

The location details of Greenwell's barrows are too often of the briefest nature, some vaguely described as 'a little to the east' or 'near'. In other instances there are very specific distances and fine orientations from the compass rose. In the catalogue many barrows are given a two-figure National Grid reference, others a three-figure reference. Regrettably space does not appear to have been available to justify these attributions. Great caution is needed in the location of Greenwell's barrows, only named sites such as 'Three Howes' or 'Elf Howe', are obvious. A useful guide is provided by the name of the tenant on whose farm a barrow was situated, such as Revis, Lovel and Duggleby. Sherburn Barrows 7-9, opened by Porter and Monkman in 1866 and described by Greenwell as a short distance from the (Heslerton) long barrow, are given the same grid reference in the catalogue. But it also states that Barrows 7 and 8 were on Duggleby's (farm) and Barrow 8 was on Prodham's (farm). The National Grid reference given is that of a 'Tumulus' marked on the first edition of the O.S. Map west of Duggleby's Wold Farm. Currently air photography is revealing that the crop marks of ditches of plough-levelled barrows are numerous on the Wolds, and that the barrow mounds that survived plough degrading in Greenwell's day were members of once larger groups of monuments. Groups of ring ditches can be recognised both south of Duggleby's farm and between it and Prodham's that could have been the sites of Barrows 7-9, along with 'Prodham's II' (UN 105).

The entries also include any finds obtained before or after Greenwell's excavations of a barrow, a valuable addition to the catalogue, but by no means exhaustive. The calendar of excavations leave 1873 blank, but this was the year Greenwell devoted three weeks to the investigation of barrows on Goodmanham Wold including the interesting Barrow 89. (*The Times,* Oct. 22. 1873).

To many people this Catalogue will be a disappointment; the introduction is so brief, and a chronological outline could have usefully been provided for the Neolithic, Bronze and Iron Ages. A analysis of the grave associations would also have been a welcome addition. In the site entries the lack of discussion and parallels to some of the pottery assemblages is an outstanding omission. The pottery described as 'Early Iron Age', from Weaverthorpe 47 and Cowlam 50-53, has good parallels in the local later Bronze Age assemblages from Paddock Hill, Thwing. In a recent report, published in this *Journal* (vol. 58. 1986) I. M. Stead refers to this Catalogue instead of providing his own finds report of his, and the earlier Greenwell, excavations of the Cowlam Barrows 50-54. The shortcomings of the Catalogue treatment of these artefacts are demonstrated; that is the lack of stratigraphic find locations, the absence of fabric descriptions, and the lack of discussion and parallels for the material. Had this Catalogue appeared a century ago, or even fifty years ago, it would have been a major contribution to the primary data of archaeology in Great Britain. It is useful to compare this work with the London Museum Catalogues produced by Sir Mortimer Wheeler, or the *Guide to the Collection illustrating the Prehistory of Wales,* by W. F. Grimes; all published in the 1930s. There may also be readers who will feel, like the reviewer, that the Greenwell Catalogue is a reflection of the 19th-Century Collection ethic. The wider needs of archaeology at the end of the 20th Century would be better served by a more comprehensive treatment by period and subject of the vast holdings of the British Museum. A model for such treatment was published two decades ago by the British Museum in Sir David Wilson's catalogue of the Later Saxon Metalwork collection.

Doncaster T. G. MANBY

KATHERINE LONGLEY, *Saint Margaret Clitherow,* Anthony Clarke, Wheathampstead, Herts, 1986; pp. x + 204. £4.95.

This is a second, much enlarged edition of Miss Longley's earlier book, first published in 1966. Her deep knowledge of the sources for Elizabethan York is apparent from the notes and appendices. Much research has enabled her to document her subject's short life from 1553 to execution on Ouse Bridge in March 1586. The

Clitherow, May and Middleton families, their homes and surroundings are brought to life as far as the documents allow. Details of Margaret's arrest, trial and tragic fate come from the *True Report* of her spiritual director, John Mush, a contemporary source, of which seven manuscript copies survive.

At times the hagiographical writing, more florid and dramatic than that of the sober, academic historian, may jar on the reader not entirely sympathetic to Catholic devotion. Others have judged St Margaret and Father Mush more harshly and have questioned her motives in refusing to plead and so incurring the medieval penalty of being pressed to death. Such fortitude will puzzle and perhaps even repell modern Christians. However, this must be the definitive account of York's only native saint, more honoured and attractive than William Fitzherbert, if less influential than the uncanonized Alcuin or Coverdale.

JOAN MOULDEN AND D. TWEDDLE. *Anglo-Scandinavian Settlement South-West of the Ouse*. (The Archaeology of York 8/1). York Archaeological Trust and Council for British Archaeology. London, 1986. 72 pp, 17 figs., 8 plates. £7.95.

D. TWEDDLE. *Finds from Parliament Street and other sites in the City Centre*. (The Archaeology of York 17/4). York Archaeological Trust and Council for British Archaeology. London, 1986. 106 pp., 39 figs., 8 plates. £9.95.

E. J. E. PIRIE. *Post-Roman Coins from York Excavations 1971-1981*. (The Archaeology of York 18/1). York Archaeological Trust and Council for British Archaeology. London 1986. 84 pp., 7 figs., 20 plates (one in colour). £9.50.

This trio of publications from York continues the momentum of prompt and full publication of York Archaeological Trust's excavations and research. The first is a survey volume and the other two are finds reports.

In discussing Anglo-Scandinavian settlement on the left bank of the Ouse Moulden and Tweddle consider in detail the structures from three excavations (58-9 Skeldergate, 37 Bishophill Senior, and Clementhorpe); none is of great moment but each helps to build up the pattern of Anglo-Scandinavian settlement in the area. Far more useful is the catalogue and assessment of the 96 recorded finds in this area, extending and revising Waterman's 1959 survey. Joan Moulden's essay on the nature of the evidence discusses both the progress of building development within the city walls and also the mercenary activities of labourers, collectors and museum officials in preserving finds for posterity. The archaeological evidence for the Anglo-Scandinavian period is the most abundant, but does not yet give sufficient support for Palliser's 1984 theory of a *wic* or trading settlement on this river bank, nor for Morris's 1986 identification of the basilica of the Holy Wisdom with its attendant circuit of churches on the hill top. The caption to Fig. 2 should be amended to indicate that four suburban sites (75, 82, 94-5) are not shown on it.

The second volume under review describes Roman, Anglo-Scandinavian and Medieval finds (not pottery or coins) from five sites in a compact area outside the Roman fortress but centrally within the medieval city. Each item is discussed as fully as its significance merits and of individual finds the textile fragments and the woodman's axe illustrate this attention to technical detail. However the most interesting evidence is that for industrial activity: in the pre-Conquest period there was bone-working for comb-making, brass melting and leather working for sheaths and shoes; in the post-Conquest period metal working in iron, copper alloy and probably pewter, and the manufacture of glass beads and finger rings are the major items. Aesthetically the most pleasing finds are the three pre-Conquest decorated leather knife sheaths and these receive both artistic and technical examination. Of medieval interest is the mould for a pilgrim flask which Tweddle tentatively associates with the gild of the Corpus Christi and the cult of Archbishop Scrope; however the chalice depicted on the mould is of a 12th-century form and the type of cross is found on early medieval altar consecration crosses, so it may instead be for the cult of St. William.

The third volume represents a substantial piece of collaborative research. Miss Pirie publishes the 420 coins and tokens from the York Trust's excavation. There are also coin-weights, coin dies and trial-pieces. The detailed catalogue is preceded by a useful survey indicating the significance of the coin finds at all periods in York's history together with comments on notable absences, as of Norman coins and of those from the Civil War period. The archaeological aspects of the Coppergate site are briefly considered as a prelude to a full discussion of the dies and trial pieces: 'the evidence may be small in amount yet it has a potential significance out of all proportion to the number of pieces involved'. The standard of illustration of these exceptional items in line drawings, photographs and colour plates is of the highest standard; it is in marked contrast to the other photographs which are flat and often indistinct, particularly for the interesting series of jettons.

The general location maps of York in each fascicule are a welcome and, one hopes, permanent feature.

Although the footnotes follow a common format by being placed at the end of each fascicule, it might be helpful if reference was made in each note to the page at which that note occurs. Pagination, as in 17/4, is continuous, but the notes start their numbering with each new fascicule and appear at very random intervals. Cross reference would be most desirable.

University of Leeds LAWRENCE BUTLER

Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England and West Yorkshire Metropolitan County Council Supplementary Series: 8 *Rural Houses of West Yorkshire 1400-1830* H.M.S.O. (1986) pp. + 241, 286 pls., 178 figs. £12.95

This book, written and researched by Colum Giles, is another in the RCHM's thematic series out of which the buildings of the North are doing remarkably well. 1985 gave us Sarah Pearson's *Rural Houses of the Lancashire Pennines* and 1986 has yielded Lucy Caffyn's *Workers Housing in West Yorkshire* as well as the present volume. All are remarkably good value for the modest price but this book is quite outstanding: 187 pages of descriptive and analytical text, with an inventory covering 251 houses, all lavishly illustrated.

Mr. Giles's aims to use standing houses as a historical source which can both supplement the documentary record and add significantly to it, thus furthering our understanding of the processes of social and economic change. This combined approach works remarkably well: probate inventories, hearth-tax assessments, court records and many other sources are analysed in tandem with the buildings to demonstrate and illuminate the diversity of wealth — particularly yeoman wealth — not only in the County generally but also in certain small areas. It is a matter of great importance to discover that at least one half of the householders in Norland and at least one third of those in Warley (both townships just to the west of Halifax) were living in good stone houses by *c.*1700.

The book is divided into six chapters, two dealing with the late Middle Ages and the other four (the last of which provides a link with the companion volume on Workers' Housing) covering the period c.1550 to 1800. The early chapters argue convincingly for a remarkably clear-cut differentiation of gentry and yeoman housing — the former built to an H-plan with decorated roofs and lateral fireplaces and the latter to aisled plans with timber firehoods. The suggestion that aisles were adopted to compensate for the absence of service rooms at the low end (occupied by a textile workshop) is an intriguing one which may help to explain why aisled houses were still being built in Yorkshire two centuries after they had been abandoned elsewhere. In the post-medieval period the West Yorkshire gentry, like their Lancashire counterparts, clung tenaciously to the archaic but prestigious open hall and H-plan, while the yeomanry adopted more tightly-planned dwellings. Unlike Lancashire however the three-unit and heath-passage plan remained popular at this social level because of the desire to segregate domestic and workshop functions. The near-square double fronted and double depth yeoman house so characteristic of the Lancashire Pennines appears relatively late in West Yorkshire and then mostly in peripheral areas where the cloth industry was less developed.

Mr. Giles distinguishes very clearly between the housing-types of the various different regions which make up even so small a county as West Yorkshire. The large and early yeoman houses are found predominantly in the upper Calder Valley with outliers a little to the east around Bradford and Gomersal. In the north-west and south-west houses are on the whole later (i.e. post-1650) and smaller, while in the lowland east there are relatively few 17th century buildings and these are generally of the 'Vale of York' timber-framed type, later in date and poorer in quality than Pennine timber houses. Why many of these houses were also aisled is a question which Mr. Giles does not address, but since most examples lie outside West Yorkshire it is really a matter for others to decide.

There is always a danger in a study of this kind that the sheer volume of material will obscure the overall picture, but in this instance the data has been woven supremely well into the author's tight and coherent argument. One comes away with the rare feeling that one has grasped the essential characteristics of the houses and understood the process of development. The clarity of the argument is enhanced by excellent plates and uncluttered plans drawn to a common scale. It is most unusual in a book of this kind to find all the illustrations exactly where the reader needs them to be.

Given the author's aims, it is hardly surprising that he has concentrated primarily on plan and room-function but it is a little disappointing to find that other aspects of building have been largely ignored for the post-medieval period. For example, no 17th and 18th-century roofs are illustrated although work in adjacent areas of North Yorkshire has shown that the ubiquitous king-post could take many interesting forms in this period. In the Inventory section of the volume there are numerous houses with a timber arcade structure dividing front and rear rooms but this interesting link between aisled and outshot construction is nowhere discussed in the text. The reader can deduce a good deal about decorative features such as window, door and fireplace dressings, from the excellent photographs but it is a pity that the development sequences have not been organised for us in the text. It is perhaps a measure of the development of the study of vernacular architecture in recent years

that this book, like its companion volumes, is concerned with social and economic history rather than with architecture as such. This trend is surely healthy and long overdue but it is to be hoped that lay interest in the subject, which is perhaps geared more to structural and ornamental detail than to plan-forms will not be dampened by too academic an approach.

University of Leeds BARRY HARRISON

L. P. WENHAM, *Frances I'Anson, The Lass of Richmond Hill,* Richmond 1986; pp. 40, pl. 13, figs 5.

Peter Wenham's booklet is concerned with the identity of the 'Lass' of the popular song, first published in 1789. He shows that it was written by Leonard McNally, an Irish barrister and dramatist, perhaps about his wife, Frances. However, although both the Yorkshire and Surrey Richmonds have a Hill or Hill House, Miss I'Anson never apparently lived at either, being born at Leyburn and meeting McNally in London. Various interesting byways and stories about the families concerned are explored, with extensive quotations. An anecdote told by Alec Clifton-Taylor in 1981 is quoted as an example of how facts can be embroidered to grow into legends, frequently the case with people and places relevant, sometimes somewhat remotely, to the origins of the song.

ROBERT YOUNG, *Lithics and Subsistence in North-Eastern England*. B.A.R. British Series 161, 1987; pp. 318, ills. 100. £22.

This work is based on two chapters of the author's Ph.D. thesis, 'Aspects of Prehistoric Archaeology of the Wear Valley, Co. Durham', presented at Durham University in 1984. It comprises a study of flint scatters dating from the Late Mesolithic to the Early Bronze Age, discovered by the author and by earlier field workers. The flints are classified typologically and interpreted in terms of site activities against the background environmental information. The inventory comprises 190 mainly riverine sites from the headwaters of the Wear to the coast, well illustrated by 37 full pages of flint drawings. Of the 118 pages of discussion, 27 are introductory, presenting previous work and environmental data, 58 concern the flint industries themselves, and 31 contain interpretations of the data.

The sites are divided into two categories according to their flint classifications, as 'base camps' and 'extraction camps', the latter having a narrower range of flint tools. They are both found along the entire length of the valley. The author points out that all the base camps have easy access to two or more different ecological zones and thus to a wide range of seasonally variable resources. He therefore does not need to postulate seasonal migrations, as has been done for other parts of Northern England.

The work also discusses the problem of the many neolithic and bronze-age arrowheads found on the mesolithic sites, a national but rather neglected phenomenon. It is proposed (p.114) that hunters and gatherers still using a basically mesolithic flint technology adopted neolithic/bronze age implement types, thus agreeing with Woodman in Ireland, Mercer in Scotland, and the present reviewer in the North York Moors.

At some points the author leaves the reader in the dark concerning his methodology. On the all-important matter of research strategy, he simply states (p.4) that searching had to be confined mainly to the valley itself along the Upper Wear, and elsewhere to areas around known sites. It is not clear why this was chosen in preference to alternatives. In choosing his criteria for defining 'base' and 'extraction' camps, he does not explain why he rejects others, such as the ratio of hunting equipment to food production tools.

This is a valuable, self-consistent body of data which will form an indispensable part of any future reevaluation of this important period in the North. Would that there were more like it.

Skelton, York D. A. SPRATT.

ALSO RECEIVED: TO BE REVIEWED LATER

D. Brinklow, R. A. Hall, J. R. Magilton and S. Donaghey, *Coney Street, Aldwark and Clementhorpe, Minor Sites and Roman Roads (The Archaeology of York 6/1),* York Archaeological Trust 1987; pp. 112, figs. 53, pls. 20. £11.50.

W. Childs (ed.), *The Customs Accounts of Medieval Hull 1450-1500,* Y.A.S. Record Series 144, 1986. £24.

Lucy Caffyn, *Workers' Housing in West Yorkshire 1750-1920,* Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England and West Yorkshire Metropolitan County Council 1986; pp. 160, pls. 175, figs. 67. £13.95.

Rober Unwin, *Wetherby. The History of a Yorkshire Market Town,* Wetherby Historical Trust 1987; pp. xii + 252, ills. £8.95 incl. p. & p.

J. C. Holt, *John Le Patourel 1909-1981,* The British Academy 1987; pp. 13, pls. 1. £1.50.

All communications relative to the Editorial side of the **Journal** should be addressed to the Hon. Editor, R. M. BUTLER, M.A., PH.D., F.S.A., Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, The White House, Clifton, York, from whom lists of conventions should be obtained by intending contributors.

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1987

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